DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 070 543	RC 006 608

AUTHOR	Stockman, Wallace Henry
TITLE	Historical Perspectives of Federal Educational Promises and Performance Among the Fort Berthold Indians.
PUB DATE	71
NOTE	362p.; Ph.D. dissertation submitted to the University of Colorado, Boulder
EDRS PRICE	MF-$0.65 HC-$13.16
DESCRIPTORS	American History; *American Indians; *Educational Development; Educational Policy; Financial Support; Fiscal Capacity; *Government Role; Industrialization; *Legal Responsibility; Nonreservation American Indians; *Reservations (Indian); Schools
IDENTIFIERS	Arikara; *Ft Berthold Indian Reservation; Hidatsa; Mandan

ABSTRACT

The study concerns Federal Indian Law--its social origins, its historical growth and direction, and its effectiveness among the 3 affiliated tribes (Mandan, Hidatsa, and Arikara) of the Ft. Berthold American Indian Reservation (population total 2,750, with a birth rate of 40 per 1,000 and a death rate of 9 per 1,000) located in North Dakota. It is also concerned with education--its function in the acculturation process of the Ft. Berthold Indians, its successes and failures, and the rise of a school system, education being broadly defined in terms of socialization. The current educational level is approximately at the 10th grade level. There were 1,200 Indian children in elementary, 500 in high school, 125 in colleges, and 45 in vocational schools in fiscal 1971. The Ft. Berthold people are currently experiencing major social changes which might stimulate them to develop and to support a social system capable of solving their economic, political, religious, educational, and family problems. It is recommended that emphasis be placed on educational processes capable of making attitudinal changes and that the direction of these changes allow the Indian to utilize his land resources to their fullest extent. In addition, blocks of fractionated land holdings should be removed and sufficient professional help provided whereby the Indians wishing to make a living off the land have the mental as well as economic assets needed to make this a reality. It is further suggested that the Indian student be exposed to cultural content when he enters school and that the educative process should involve the adult as well as the student. (Author/FF)

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HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVES OF FEDERAL EDUCATIONAL PROMISES AND PERFORMANCE AMONG THE FORT BERTHOLD INDIANS

by

WALLACE HENRY STOCKMAN

B. S. Minot State College, 1962

M. P. S., University of Colorado, 1965

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A Thesis submitted to the Faculty of the Graduate
School of the University of Colorado in partial
fulfillment of the requirements for the Degree
Doctor of Education
School of Education
1971

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Wallace H. Stockman
has been approved for the
School of
Education
by

Mehdi Nakosteen
Donald F. [illegible]
Richard J. Kraft

Date Dec. 6, 1971

Stockman, Wallace Henry (Ed. D., Education)

Historical Perspectives of Federal Educational Promises and Performance among the Fort Berthold Indians

Thesis directed by Professor Mehdi Nakosteen

This study concerns Federal Indian Law--its social origins, its growth and direction, and its effectiveness among the Three Affiliated Tribes of the Fort Berthold Indian Reservation located in North Dakota. It is also concerned with education--its function in the acculturation process of the Fort Berthold Indians, its successes and failures, and the rise of a school system. Education is broadly defined in terms of socialization.

Official government documents and publications, books, magazines and dissertations have been examined and personal interviews have been conducted in the process of compiling the material included in this study.

The Fort Berthold people have consistently been friendly with the Federal Government, as well as with the white population, in spite of the changes brought about by cultural diffusion. With the extinction of the buffalo, hunting gave way to herding as a means of sustaining their subsistent economy. Agricultural practices, which have always been a part of their livelihood, are being upgraded, resulting in a current

income of $4,070 per household.

Although these tribes have been in contact with the whites since 1737, the first permanent, long lasting association came with the establishment of an army post at Fort Berthold in 1867. Since then, there has been continual contact between the two cultural groups.

The large numbers of Indians who comprised the original Three Tribes were decimated by diseases of the white man. Modern sanitation and an awareness of nutritional needs have made possible a gradual increase in population, the most rapid growth coming in the last twenty years. The present Indian population totals 2,750, with a birth rate of forty per thousand, and a death rate of nine per thousand. Their present estimated life span is fifty five years.

With the establishment of schools in the early 1870's, formal education was introduced to the Indians. The effectiveness of these schools, whether conducted by public or private interests, have varied over the years. The current educational level is approximately at the tenth grade level. In fiscal 1971, there were 1,200 Indian children attending elementary schools, 500 in high schools, 125 in colleges, and 45 in vocational schools.

During the early 1950's, approximately ninety percent of the Fort Berthold residents were forced to leave homes which had been established on the Missouri river bottoms for several hundred years. They established new homes at a higher elevation on sub-marginal land to make room for the Garrison Reservoir, a large lake which was formed on the upper side of the Garrison Dam. Since the new home locations were scattered throughout the remaining reservation, the old communication systems were broken up and new ones had to be developed. The Indians are gradually migrating

to newly formed population centers and homes are currently being built for many of them there.

The Fort Berthold people are currently experiencing major social changes which might stimulate them to develop and to support a social system capable of solving their economic, political, religious, educational, and family problems.

One of the problems which must be considered is that of population growth, which has levelled off at seventeen per thousand. In its present state of economic development, the reservation cannot support either the existing population or the projected increase. There is a need for industrial expansion or considerable "out-migration."

Social changes must be intrinsically motivated and cannot be forced from the outside, as demonstrated in historical data included in this study. Government programs must be originated and administered by the Indians. On the other hand, Indians have often failed to take advantage of opportunities for self-help, some preferring to live as dependents of the Government. Large expenditures of money, programming, education, and patience will be required to change the social system. The investment of money has to be made in terms of these peoples' intrinsic needs as well as of their extrinsic needs. The present "Grant in Aid" Government programs, as well as the current policies of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, seem to be following this philosophy.

This abstract of about 600 words is approved as to form and content. I recommend its publication.

Signed______________________________
Faculty member in charge of dissertation

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The author wishes to express his thanks and appreciation to all those who have helped to conduct the investigation and prepare the dissertation for publication.

Special thanks must be given to the following:

To Dr. Mehdi Nakosteen, who was in charge of this dissertation, Dr. Donald Gerdy, Dr. Richard Kraft, Dr. Blaine Mercer, and Dr. Omer C. Stewart, all of whom are members of the faculty of the University of Colorado, for their many valuable suggestions on the selection of material and writing of the manuscript as well as for their encouragement, criticisms, and sincere interest in the study.

To Dr. Paul Morrison, Mr. Gene Hanson, Mr. Robert Jagd, and Mrs. Sally Pufall for their assistance and criticisms in various phases of editing the manuscript.

To Mrs. Lavonne Stockman, Mrs. Ruth Jagd, and Mrs. Deanna Chrest who assisted in the final preparation of this manuscript.

To Mrs. Bobi Stockman for her assistance and cooperation while researching in the various governmental agencies in Washington, D. C., including the National Archives, the U. S. Department of the Interior, the Federal Depository, and the Library of Congress.

Finally, to my wife, Esther, who was a constant partner in all phases of this project, and who demonstrated unselfish cooperation throughout.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

At the time of the discovery of the American continents, less than one-half of the Indian tribes in North America had advanced to an early horticultural stage of development. In contrast, the Europeans, who were in an early agrarian stage, were just emerging from the medieval period. They brought with them to the new continents their

> . . . Judeo-Christian spiritual tradition, the heritages of the ancient civilizations of the Near East, Greece, and Rome, and the various political, social, and economic systems of western Europe. The Indians did not share any of these, but, on their part, were the inheritors of totally different traditions and ways of life, many of them rooted in Asia, some of them thousands of years old, and all as thoroughly a part of the Indian societies as European ways were a part of the white man's culture.[1]

The Europeans brought with them their social forms and ideologies which included an important principle concerning land rights. This principle asserted that a European government would receive title to all of the land discovered by its subjects or by explorers acting under its authority, and would exclude all other European governments from any claims to this territory. The different nations of Europe respected the right of the aborigines as occupants of the land, but reserved the ultimate sovereignty for themselves. They claimed the power to grant to the aborigines the rights of the soil even though this soil might be in possession of the natives.[1] The European legacy influenced the United States government to adopt, through its Constitution, a policy which stated that discovery gave the government an exclusive right to extinguish the Indian title of occupancy by treaty if preceded by purchase or conquest. In addition, the government reserved rights to any degree of sovereignty which the Indians would allow it to exercise.

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[1] Alfred A. Josephy, Jr. The Indian Heritage of America. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1968, p. 4.

John Quincy Adams had argued that the Indians were entitled to as much of the land as was necessary for their subsistence but that the inevitable march of progress and civilization, with its need for land ownership, should have priority over possession of the land.[2] This policy was never put into effect since the principle had been previously developed and incorporated in the third article of the Ordinance of 1787 requiring the consent of the Indians as a requisite to any cession of their lands or property. Actually, when the prevailing policy was put into practice, the means of consent often involved coercion.[3]

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[1] Frank B. Horne, and Margaret F. Hurley. Federal Indian Law. New York: Association on American Indian Affairs, Inc., 1966, pp. 18-20, 593-601.

[2] Charles Mix, Acting Commissioner. Annual Reports of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1867, p. 143.

[3] Horne, op. cit., 94-95.

Following the adoption of the Constitution of the United States, the original policies developed from the Ordinance of 1787 elevated the legal status of the Indian tribes sufficiently to allow them to be represented as distinct, independent, political communities with the power to demand and make treaties. The extinguishment of the titles to the Indian land actually took place through the treaty system. In March of 1871, this power was returned to Congress by taking the treaty making provision away from the Indians, substituting simple agreement.[1]

The first policy for the treatment of the Indians as developed under the newly organized federal government was one of "non-intervention." An attempt was made to regulate trade and intercourse with the various Indian tribes. The idea of "removal" of the Indians to the lands west of the Mississippi River began to develop after the Louisiana Purchase in 1803 and the actual process of removal began with the Congressional Act of May 28, 1830, governing Indian removal.[2]

During the early 1800's and thereafter, events transpired which made it impossible to believe that the Indians would ever be completely separated from the whites, a condition which would give the Indians the opportunity to work out their problems alone. In 1845, Texas was admitted to the Union. The Oregon question was settled in 1846. California, Nevada, Utah, and part of Colorado, Arizona, and New Mexico were ceded by Mexico in 1848. The Gadsen Purchase was added in 1853. There was an advancing tide of settlement in the years following the close of the Civil War which spelled the end of the policy of separation.[1]

---

[1] Borne, op. cit., p. 114.

[2] Ibid., pp. 18, 373.

The Indian Affairs Act of July 22, 1790 dealt with "licensed traders, sale of Indian lands, the commission of crimes and trespasses against Indians, and the procedure for punishing white men committing offenses against Indians."[2] The substance of this law remains to this day.

The Federal Government always exercised broad dominion and control over the Indians. This made it possible to adopt and pursue such policies as westward removal, establishment of reservation systems, and allotments of land to individual Indians.[3] The use of treaties to acquire land was halted by Congress in 1871 and marked a transition from the view of the Indian as a dependent alien nationality toward the view that the Indian should be assimilated into the non-Indian culture. Much of the subsequent Indian legislation had assimilation as the eventual goal, as experienced, for example, by three Indian tribes in North Dakota.

These tribes, comprised of Mandans, Arikaras, and Hidatsa (Gros Ventres), became collectively known as the Three Affiliated Tribes of the Fort Berthold Indian Reservation. Linguistically, the Mandans and Hidatsas were Siouan and the Arikaras were Caddoan. However, the Mandans speak a Mississippi Valley dialect while the Hidatsas speak a Missouri River dialect.[4]

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[1] Ibid., p. 210.

[2] Ibid., p. 95.

[3] Ibid., p. 32.

[4] Harry Hoijer. "Indian Languages of North America." in Roger C. Owen, James J. F. Deetz, and Anthony D. Fisher, The North American Indians. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1967, p. 87.

By the time of the Lewis & Clark expedition in 1804, the Mandans and Hidatsas were located in villages along the banks of the Missouri close to the mouth of the Heart River. The Arikaras lived about 200 miles south along the Missouri and migrated to their present locality in the middle of the nineteenth century. These tribes lived in fortified villages of earth-covered lodges, cultivated the alluvial bottom lands of the Missouri, and operated a flourishing trading center by which they exchanged the produce of their fields for the products brought to their villages by nomadic, buffalo-hunting Indians of other tribes before the advent of the white man.[1]

The Three Tribes viewed the world as familistic and sacred. They saw the world as a cooperating, familistic community wherein security and happiness of all depended on the solidarity of the group. Property, personal ambition, glory, good times, and life itself were secondary to the rules of kinship and generosity. Their relative isolation from cultures representing differing values meant that there was little social disorganization.[2]

Their life style was dominated by their method of making a living. All three tribes raised Indian corn, Indian tobacco (Nicotiana Quadrivalvis, Pursch) squash and beans. Their women were largely responsible for agricultural duties while the men hunted and protected the villages from attack by hostile tribes. It was truly a subsistence culture involving an almost complete ecological balance with the surrounding environment. Physically, they enjoyed excellent health. The only food available constituted a balanced diet. Their educational practices consisted of preparation for life and were taught largely within the family circle.[1]

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[1] John C. Ewers. Indian Life on the Upper Missouri. Norman: The University of Oklahoma Press, 1968, p. 3.

[2] Raymond F. Schulenberg. Indians of North Dakota. Bismarck: The State Historical Society of North Dakota, 1956, pp. 29-56.

When Lewis and Clark spent the winter with the Mandans, 1804-05, all of the Indians in the area had previously been in contact with white traders. The horse had been introduced. The first epidemic of the white man's plagues (beginning with the smallpox epidemic of 1781) had been experienced.

There were few survivors from the smallpox outbreak of 1837. By 1844 the Mandans and Hidatsas had established "Like-a-Fishook" Village where they stayed until land was allotted to heads of families on the Fort Berthold Reservation in the late 1880's.[2]

The Three Affiliated Tribes constantly faced major problems and these problems negatively affected their development of an agricultural economy. Factors such as attacks from hostile tribes, the introduction of disease by the white man, the adoption of the horse to their economy, as well as formal action by the United States Government tore these people away from their roots and forced them to forge new social relationships. A listing of these disrupting factors follows:

1. The Indian economy was disrupted by the appearance of the traders and representatives of the United States Government.
2. Disease decimated their numbers and forced them to band together in new locations.
3. Their meat supply was extinguished, creating a dependency relationship with the Federal Government.

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[1] Ibid., pp. 70-75.

[2] Ibid., pp. 17, 25, 26.

4. The old social relationships, which had been developing during their stay at "Like-a-Fishook" Village were severed when the Dawes Act was adopted in the late 1880's.
5. Over 153,000 acres of prime Missouri River bottom lands, containing over 80 per cent of their homes, were officially "taken" from these Indians by the Federal Government in March, 1950 to serve as a lake bed for the Garrison Reservoir.[1]
6. This disruption was further compounded by the fact that the remaining lands were separated by water into five geographical areas, with little communication between them.

During pre-historic times, the Mandans, Hidatsas and Arikaras had developed adequate educational systems. Later social changes necessitated by historical events forced these once proud tribes to shift from tribal independence to dependence on an alien dominant culture. Their basic struggle for survival, together with their problems of adaptation to new cultural configurations accompanying each major dislocation, formed the basis for this paper.

STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

When two groups of people jointly occupy an area but do not share the same social system, each group tries to maintain and preserve the political and economic conditions that are compatible with the institutions which existed in their previous systems before the contact. When this occurs, the conditions for maintaining the institutions not only may differ, they may actually be in conflict. If groups in contact differ in their ability to impose changes on the other group, then we may find one group in a "superordinate" position and the other in a "subordinate" position.[1]

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[1] Official Files of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, Chapter 790, Public Law 437, dated October 20, 1949. New Town: Fort Berthold Agency, Bureau of Indian Affairs, October 20, 1949.

When the migrant group possesses superior technology and is better organized than the indigenous group, the migrant's institutions are generally imposed on the indigenous population.[2] Warfare, nationalism, and population decline, often occur following the interference with the established order of the natives. In time, the subordinated indigenous population participates in the economy of the migrant group but often at the cost of disruption of the previous forms of social and economic organization. No alternative exists for most of the native population except to revise or destroy their previously effective political, economic, and social institutions.[3]

From the time of the first contact between the European and the American Indian, each group attempted to preserve conditions which would be compatible with their native institutions. The superior technology and organization of the European led to the decimation of the Indian's food supply, disrupted his religious and tribal forms of organization, and rendered many of his older forms of socialization obsolete. The Europeans occupied a "superordinate" position while the American Indians were placed in a "subordinate" position wherein their cultural heritage was partially destroyed. However, not all of their institutional arrangements disappeared. The cultural heritage of the American Indian continued to be influential in his life and stood between him and his assimilation in the European culture. At the same time, his cultural heritage did not offer a complete alternative to assimilation into the European culture.

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[1] Stanley Lieberson. "A Societal Theory of Race and Ethnic Relations," in Robert A. Dentler, (ed.), Major American Social Problems. Chicago: Rand McNally & Company, 1967, p. 183.

[2] Ibid., p. 184.

[3] Ibid., p. 186.

Education can affect all social institutions if it is a major factor in socializing the young, if it involves intellectual and moral training, and if it develops mental powers and character. It does this through provision of systematic instruction to the adults as well as to the young. Education becomes a key to the transmission of values between cultures as well as being a key transmitter between generations of any given culture. Whatever forms education may take will influence the eventual outcome of the conflict. The part education has played, is playing, and will play, in the acculturation process between the Indian and the non-Indian, was the focal point of this study.

American education is subject to tensions from several general sources: 1) as a public institution it is directly responsible for the preservation of its culture; 2) its society is rapidly changing due to the rapid development of a technology which has social consequences; and 3) minority groups are finding the type of leadership and organization which permit them to seek full membership in the social system. This means that education is having to redefine its role from a traditionally conservative position to one which incorporates an innovative principle. There is an ever increasing demand placed upon it at the present time and in the foreseeable future. This is likely to contime at an accelerated rate.

Existing problems must be examined in the light of the changes that are taking place and have been taking place in the society, on the one hand, and the relationship of education to this ongoing process, on the other. Population growth and social and geographical mobility increase the pressures on the existing social patterns. Technological, economic and social changes effect the Indian population as well as the non-Indian population. Conceptualization of the relationships between the educational institution and the larger social order is necessary for the non-Indian culture. Conceptualization of the relationships between the educational institution and the Indian culture can be even better justified.

ASSUMPTIONS

1. The breaking up of the social relationships and in some cases the loss of the social systems themselves within the Three Tribes have impeded the enculturation processes which would normally have been operating within their social structure.

2. The attitudes and policies of the non-Indians who came into contact with the members of the Three Tribes helped develop a dependency relationship rather than either promote assimilation into the non-Indian culture or develop some type of cultural pluralism.

3. The Indians, themselves, do not agree on their exact future goals. The non-Indians have different views from those held by the Indian. Without study, planning, and implementation, this situation will be slow to improve.

4. Improvement can take place, ideally, when a total involvement of both the Indian and non-Indian on a cooperative basis is developed.

5. The Indians should be free to choose their new cultural forms from the variety of traditions found in both cultures. A synthesis of western industrial, and Indian communal values could make a unique contribution to American life.

6. The separation of the Indian from the non-Indian represents discrimination rather than cultural pluralism.

7. Social practices and institutions precede the facts of existence. The facts of existence should not be used to justify a policy of no change. Rather, social steps should be taken first--an act of faith supported by many facts. Continued frustrations of the Indians can only lead to an increase in extremist views and resentful actions.

SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

The first justification for this study can be made on the grounds of dispelling biases resulting from lack of knowledge between the Indian and non-Indian cultures. As long as the present ignorance exists between the two cultures, knowledge and insight into the policies and practices as they have been administered by public and private agencies need to be subjected to rigorous examination. In spite of expenditures of millions of dollars by various public and private agencies, the economic plight of the Indian continues to be a major social problem of our time. Our nation's policy making bodies must be aware of the past mistakes in order to formulate constructive policies for the future.

A second justification for this study can be made by identifying factors both from retrospective and contemporary conditions which have impeded social, economic, and political development. At the time of their first contact with the white man, the members of the Three Tribes were in an early horticultural stage of development. Today, they still have been unsuccessful in generating sufficient internal and external resources to develop what little land they have left. The amount of formal schooling achieved by the members of the Three Tribes is not dissimilar from that of the surrounding non-Indian population. However, their economic level is much lower in terms of resources available for their personal use. Certain factors appear to negate the educational advancement which has been available to them. These factors need to be identified.

A third justification of this study can be made on the grounds that there is a need to identify some of the factors which have delayed the normal progress of the Indian's economic systems, especially where the role of education is involved in this process.

In the past, several of the policies adopted by governmental agencies appear to have had a negative effect upon the economic and social development of the members of the Three Tribes. An attempt to disclose how and why this happened should enhance decision making which involves the present and future lives of the Indians. This would be a fourth justification for this study.

DELIMITATIONS

1. This study is not intended to be a complete history of the relations between the Federal Government and Indians in general. It is designed to present background material only on those aspects which have affected the Three Affiliated Tribes of the Fort Berthold Indian Reservation.

2. This investigation will be guided by the fact that education involves both value change and training in the use of new skills.

3. Private institutions such as missionaries from churches have historically been involved in the educational process. This has been true on the Fort Berthold Indian Reservation. There is, however, very little private education existing on the Fort Berthold Reservation today. The contribution of the private agencies will be considered largely in its historical perspective.

4. This study will not provide a comprehensive survey of all of the various governmental and private agencies involved in reservation life. An exception will be a summation of the present condition of the Three Tribes for purposes of comparison with the period preceding the acquisition of land for the Garrison Dam and its Lake Sakakawea.

5. This is not intended to be a statistical study. Rather it is an historical account of the relationships as they existed between the Three Affiliated Tribes and the various agencies which served them. Any statistical material will be introduced solely for the purpose of delineating the problems into a more meaningful whole.

Since there is a need to keep the problems which are under discussion within workable bounds, a narrowing of the kinds of data being presented in the paper must occur. This will make the selection process most important. Risks must be run which involve the problems of inclusion and exclusion of data. In order to minimize this problem, this entire thesis will be submitted to other students of Indian and educational history for critical scrutiny.

DEFINITIONS

Agency: A term which indicates the reservation offices of the Bureau of Indian Affairs on any particular Indian Reservation.

Bureau of Indian Affairs: A division of the United States Department of Interior which operates and plans the various activities concerning the government and the Indians.

Education: For the purposes of this paper, education will denote the following areas: 1) the socialization of the young; 2) intellectual and moral training; 3) the development of mental powers and character, especially through the provision of systematic instruction as seen in schools and other institutions of full time education, and which, by extension, denotes similar instruction or training for the adult age. It can be extended to include the educative effect of all social arrangements. In this respect, education can be broadened further to embody a general category of methods which influence human behavior so that it fits into the prevailing patterns of social interaction and organization. Education thus plays a part in social functions and in social change.[1]

---

[1] Jean Floud. "Education," in Julius Gould and William L. Kolb, (eds.), A Dictionary of the Social Sciences. New York: The Free Press, 1965, pp. 227-228.

Although the term education will often denote formal classroom instruction and its effects, the broader usage will frequently find application.

Indian: "Legally speaking, an Indian is what the law legislatively defines, or judicially determines, him to be. Whether the problem involves enrollment, tribal membership, or something else, the answer must be sought primarily in applicable statutes, decisions, and opinions or tribal law."[1] There are cultural, legal, social and other definitions of an Indian. A legal operational definition often used by the Federal government and many private agencies specifies any one to be an Indian who has one-fourth or more Indian blood. It should be noted that there is not an absolutely accurate record of marriage and birth. Hoult quotes J. M. Hadley's definition that to be an Indian at least three of the following six conditions must prevail: "1) enrollment in an organized tribal group, 2) general recognition as an Indian by a relevant local group, 3) speaking knowledge of an Indian language, 4) knowledge of a considerable degree of specialized Indian culture, 5) restricted property ownership, 6) residence on an Indian reservation."[2] The latter definition would probably best fit those Indians who reside on the reservation itself, but weight must be given to the Governmental definition since Indians are found in both off and on reservation settings while still qualifying by virtue of their tribal enrollment.

Minority: Valien defines minorities as

> ...subgroups within a culture which are distinguishable from the dominant group by reason of differences in physical feature, language,

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[1] Horne, op. cit., p. 10.

[2] Thomas Ford Hoult. Dictionary of Modern Sociology. Totowa, New Jersey: Littlefield, Adams & Co., 1969, p. 18.

> custom or cultural patterns (including any one or combination of these factors). Such sub-groups are regarded (or regard themselves) as inherently different from the dominant power group; for this reason they withdraw from or are consciously or unconsciously excluded from full participation in the life of the culture.[1]

The Indians logically fall into this grouping.

Fee Patent: Land on the reservation that has been sold and put on the taxable property list and now amounts to 15.8% or 44,594 acres out of a total of 618,650.81 acres on the Fort Berthold Reservation. The Government owns 152,360 acres, 113,113 of which are covered with water and represents that portion of the reservation needed for the Garrison Reservoir and which lies within the boundaries of the reservation.[2]

Reservation: An area of land under Federal jurisdiction which formerly was reserved only for the Indian population. All of the land within the borders of the reservation does not belong to the Indians at the present time.

Tribal Council: The elected governing body of an incorporated tribe.

REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

An extensive body of literature exists relating to the study of Indian education. No attempt will be made to include all of this literature either in this section or in the bibliography. Only broad categories will be presented here while the bibliography will be more extensive but not all inclusive.

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[1] Preston Valien. "Minority," in Julius Gould, and William L. Kolb, (eds.), A Dictionary of the Social Sciences. New York: The Free Press, 1965, p. 433.

[2] "Comprehensive Development Program for Fort Berthold Indian Reservation," a report prepared in cooperation with the tribal Business Council by the Fort Berthold Agency and Aberdeen Area Office Staff, 1967, p. 3.

LEGAL STATUS OF AMERICAN INDIANS

The Federal Constitution

The Ordinance of 1787 had required the consent of the Indians as a requisite to any cession of their lands or property. By the time of the writing of the Constitution, the legal status of the Indian Tribes had been elevated sufficiently to allow them to be represented as distinct, independent, political communities with the power to make treaties. Gradually, Congress reduced this power of the Indian Tribes to make treaties until March 3, 1971, when simple agreement by over 50 percent of adult males was all that was needed between representatives of the United States Government and the Indian Tribe involved in the proceedings.

Since the Federal Government held the right to declare war, the states were precluded from exercising power or control over the Indians. The Federal Government also held the right and title to all of the land not directly owned by non-Indians which meant that all transactions concerning Indian real estate had to be approved by Federal personnel. This control, emanating from the plenary authority in the Constitution extended also to the right of trade with the Indians, the licensing procedures, and the number of persons permitted to participate in Indian trade. Subsequent acts of Congress gradually defined the extent of this control.

Literature Related to Congressional Activities

Congressional action has been required on all major Indian policies. The legal framework within which the Indian must live is therefore complex. The annual publication of the United States Statutes at Large contains the laws of the United States and the Supreme Court Decisions relating specifically to Indians.[1] This source is basic to all research in legal matters.

The current laws and regulations are arranged according to specific topics in the Code of Federal Regulations. "Title 25 - Indians" covers Indian laws and regulations.[2]

In Indian Affairs, Laws and Treaties, Charles J. Kapplar compiled the laws and treaties up to 1938. It was published in five comprehensive volumes by the United States Government Printing Office in response to congressional authority. Volumes I and II brought the laws and treaties down to 1902, volume III to 1913, volume IV to 1927, and volume V to 1938.[3]

The Federal Government authorized an updating of the Handbook of Federal Indian Law, originally prepared by Felix Cohen and first printed in 1940. The revision was completed under the supervision and direction of Deputy Solicitor, Edmund T. Fritz by Frank B. Horne and assisted by Margaret F. Hurley and updated through the year 1956. It was first published by the Government Printing Office in 1958. In 1966, the Association on American Indian Affairs, Inc. published a second printing. The revised text contains eleven chapters of information on topics such as Federal power over Indian Affairs, administration of Indian Affairs, jurisdiction, trade and liquor laws, tribal self government, rights of the Indians, and other information.[1]

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[1] United States Statutes at Large. Washington: Government Printing Office, (compiled and printed annually).

[2] Emanual Cellar (chairman). Code of Federal Regulations, 1964 Ed., Committee of the Judiciary of the House of Representatives, VI, Title 25, "Indians" (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1965).

[3] Charles J. Kapplar (compiler and editor). Indian Affairs, Laws and Treaties, I-V Washington: Government Printing Office, 1903-38).

Three Affiliated Tribes of the Fort Berthold Reservation Constitution, Charter and Council Minutes

The *Constitution and Bylaws of the Three Affiliated Tribes of the Fort Berthold Reservation, North Dakota* were approved on June 29, 1936 at which time they were signed by Harold L. Ickes, Secretary of the Interior, upon approval of John Collier, Commissioner of Indian Affairs. George W. Grinnell was the Chairman of the Election Board, Arthur Mandan was Chairman of the Business Council, and Peter H. Beauchamp was Secretary for the Three Tribes. Amendment number I was approved on October 16, 1956 and Amendment number II was approved December 22, 1961.[2]

The *Corporate Charter of the Three Affiliated Tribes of the Fort Berthold Reservation, North Dakota* was ratified on April 24, 1937 by Harold L. Ickes, Secretary of the Interior and certified by Arthur Mandan, Chairman of the Tribal Business Council. Amendment number I was ratified on November 27, 1961.[3]

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[1] Frank B. Horne and Margaret F. Hurley. *Federal Indian Law*. New York: Association on American Indian Affairs, Inc., 1966.

[2] *Constitution and Bylaws of the Three Affiliated Tribes of the Fort Berthold Reservation, North Dakota*. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1936.

[3] *Corporate Charter of the Three Affiliated Tribes of the Fort Berthold Reservation, North Dakota*. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1937.

THE EXECUTIVE BRANCH OF THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

The War Department, an executive branch of the United States government, carried out the responsibility of supervising Indian affairs until 1806 when some of its duties, including Indian affairs, were assigned to a Superintendent of Trade. The first Office of Indian Affairs was established in March, 1824. It became a Bureau or Indian Department in 1832 and operated under various titles such as Indian Office, The Indian Service, The Indian Bureau, and Office of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs up to the present.

The War Department supervised the Indian Service until 1848. In 1849 it was transferred to the Department of the Interior where it still remains. Numerous documents and reports have been published by these agencies through the Government Printing Office and have been a basic source of information.

The American State Papers contain federal records prior to 1827. Volumes II and IV are devoted to Indian Affairs. These documents describe the early years of the Republic and contain letters, directives, proposals for treaties, and reports of successes and failures of this period.[1]

Reports of the War Department

From the time of the establishment of the Office of Indian Affairs in March, 1824, each commissioner in charge submitted an Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of War outlining the activities of his office. These reports were made a part of the Annual Report of the Secretary of War to the President and were the primary sources of the accounts of the military support used in controlling the Indians. In 1849 the Bureau of Indian Affairs was transferred from the War Department to the newly created Department of the Interior.[1]

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[1] Walter Lowrie and Mathew St. Clair Clark. American State Papers (Indian Affairs), II, IV (Washington: Gales and Seaton, 1832).

PUBLICATIONS OF THE DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR

Reports of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs

Since 1849 the Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs has been submitted to the Secretary of the Interior who includes it in his report to the President.[2] Often the Secretary of the Interior adds his own views. These records contain annual summaries of activities and suggestions from each agency regarding their specific problems including schools, Indian wars, liquor control, and others.

Reports of the Board of Indian Commissioners

On April 10, 1869, a Board of Indian Commissioners was appointed to inspect the affairs of the Bureau of Indian Affairs. This board supervised the purchases of supplies and investigated other Bureau activities including land usage, schools, plans, proposals, and successes or failures.

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[1] Annual Report of the Secretary of War. Washington: Government Printing Office, (annual publication).

[2] Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs. Washington: Government Printing Office, (annual publication).

An Annual Report of the Board of Indian Commissioners was submitted up to the time of the board's release of responsibility in 1932.[1]

DISSERTATIONS, THESES, RESEARCH REPORTS

Dissertations and Theses Relating to the Three Tribes

Ben Reifel presented a Doctoral study on relocation problems of the Fort Berthold Indians.[2] It was a comprehensive study of the condition of the members of the Three Tribes at the time of the taking of land for the Garrison Reservoir. Included in the study was a survey of the general situation, the social structure, the economics of reservation agriculture, social problems, and a short survey on education. A program was suggested for the rehabilitation of the tribal members.

Fischer's Master's thesis concerned the effect of relocation on education among the Three Tribes. It contained historical data on the history of the Three Tribes, especially as it pertained to early education. A factual study of existing facilities, it was written before any conclusions on the effect of relocation could be drawn. This study included some recommendations for improvement of education among the Three Tribes.[3]

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[1] Annual Report of the Board of Indian Commissioners. Washington: Government Printing Office, (printed annually, 1869-1931).

[2] Ben Reifel. Relocation on the Fort Berthold Indian Reservation: Problems and Programs, (unpublished dissertation). Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University, 1952.

[3] David C. Fischer. The Effect of Relocation on Indian Education in the Three Affiliated Tribes - Gros Ventres, Arikara, and Mandan - at the Fort Berthold Reservation, (unpublished theses). Grand Forks, N. D.: The University of North Dakota, 1954.

A Master's thesis was submitted by Beitzel on the historical development of the educational program on the Fort Berthold Indian Reservation. This thesis contained an account of early schools on the Fort Berthold Reservation, missionary education, early school policy, and a brief history of the schools as they existed before relocation.[1]

Draper presented a Master's thesis on the influence of the horse on the life of the Great Plains Indians in which she made special mention of the influence of the horse on the Mandans and the Hidatsas. Mention was also made of the diffusion of the horse complex and its accompanying acculturation problems.[2]

Larson's Master's thesis concerned the history of Fort Buford. It covered the period between 1863 to 1895 and made special mention of the relations between the United States Government and the members of the Mandan, Gros Ventres and Hidatsa Tribes.[3]

In another Master's thesis, Elefson's interest was in the Indian Agencies on the Upper Missouri to 1850. She identifies several of the agencies including the one serving the Three Tribes. Problems of Indian trade and intercourse, including the liquor and fur traffic, government control, Indian annuities and mission schools were investigated.[4]

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[1] Christian H. Beitzel. The Historical Development of the Educational Program on the Fort Berthold Indian Reservation, (unpublished thesis). Grand Forks, N. Dak.: The University of North Dakota, 1941.

[2] Catherine M. Draper. The Influence of the Horse on the Life of the Great Plains Indians, (unpublished thesis). Missoula, Mont.: Montana State University, 1948.

[3] Levi N. Larson. Some Chapters in the History of Fort Buford, (unpublished thesis). Missoula, Mont.: Montana State University, 1942.

[4] Verna Anne Elefson. Indian Agencies on the Upper Missouri to 1850, (unpublished thesis). Iowa City, Iowa: State University of Iowa, 1927.

Fur trading, liquor problems and disease among the Indians were the topics of interest of Koenig who wrote a Master's thesis on Fort Union as a Missouri River post. He included references to the early life of the Three Tribes during the 1800's.[1]

Green's Master's thesis on the Indian reservation system of the Dakotas to 1889 was a survey of the Indian policy of the government to 1851. His concern was on the problems of placing the Sioux Indians on reservations; however, he included a section on the Fort Berthold Reservation, describing Indian land cessions and reservations.[2]

Walker submitted a Master's thesis on the early life among the Mandans and Hidatsas including descriptions of their houses and villages.[3]

Dissertations and Thesis not directly concerned with the Three Tribes but which are concerned with the education of the Indians

Cronk submitted a Master's thesis on Indian education in terms of pupil and community needs. His proposition was that the education of the Indian could not come from the traditional type of school, but must have its inception in the needs of the individual and the community. He examined the trends in the policies of the Office of Indian Affairs. He concluded that the Indian will rise to just that level which is expected of him by the non-Indian community. Therefore, any educational policy which is instituted should encourage participation of all cultural groups.[1]

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[1] Myron L. Koenig. *Fort Union as a Missouri River Post*, (unpublished thesis). Iowa City, Iowa: State University of Iowa, 1933.

[2] Charles Lowell Green. *The Indian Reservation System of the Dakotas to 1889*, (unpublished thesis). Iowa City, Iowa: The State University of Iowa, 1928.

[3] Eva M. Walker. *Indians of North Dakota*, (unpublished thesis). Greeley, Colorado: Colorado State College, 1936.

Ulibarri's Doctoral dissertation was concerned with teacher awareness of socio-cultural differences in multi-cultural classrooms. He found great discrepancies in the educational opportunities available to the children of different social and cultural backgrounds. The problem of empathy for and insight into classroom behavior, together with curriculum development was discussed.[2]

White investigated the urbanization of the Dakota Indians in his Doctoral dissertation. He outlined the effect of culture on problems arising out of a change from a reservation to an urban setting.[3]

The administration of Indian resources in the United States from 1933 to 1941 was analyzed by Bach in his Doctoral dissertation. He said that a reorientation of policy governing Indian resources occurred during this period which was characterized by the prevention of further alienation of Indian lands, increases in tribal land holdings, development of conservation practices, increased use of reservation resources by Indian people, appropriation of more adequate funds for credit needs, and education of the Indians for wise use of their resources. He felt that this program, based upon the cultural assets of the

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[1] Leslie M. Cronk. Indian Education in Terms of Pupil and Community Needs, (unpublished thesis). Tucson, Arizona: The University of Arizona, 1938.

[2] Horacio Ulibarri. Teacher Awareness of Socio-Cultural Differences in Multi-Cultural Classrooms, (unpublished dissertation). Albuquerque, N. M.: The University of New Mexico, 1959.

[3] Robert Anthony White. The Urbanization of the Dakota Indians, (unpublished dissertation). St. Louis, Missouri: St. Louis University, 1960.

Indians, promised to enable the Indian to attain a status of independence and responsibility.[1]

METHODOLOGY

Sources of Data

Resource materials were secured mainly through the library of the Minot State College. This library had a good working arrangement with the major libraries in the United States, giving the researcher access to the materials necessary for a paper on this subject. Most of the Government documents listed in the bibliography were in the MSC library. In addition, the facilities of the library at the University of Colorado were utilized.

Interviews were held with individual members of the Three Tribes, employees of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, and some of the personnel of the various public and private agencies and businesses serving the reservation.

Published books, theses and dissertations, notes and documents on the proceedings of the tribal council, and opinions from various persons involved with the local problems were included in the data used for this research.

Treatment of Data

Historical data were chronologically and topically arranged. This was true, both in relation to the Indians as a whole, and to the Three Tribes in particular. Special reference was made concerning their present economic, political, social, educational, and cultural condition for the purpose of evaluating the effectiveness of past programs and making it possible to recommend areas for development in the future.

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[1] Arthur Lawrence Bach. Administration of Indian Resources in the United States, 1933-1941, (unpublished dissertation). Ames, Iowa: State University of Iowa, 1942.

The data was organized into chapters and topics as follows:

ORGANIZATION OF THE STUDY

Chapter I INTRODUCTION

- Background
- Statement of the problem
- Assumptions
- Significance of the study
- Delimitations
- Definitions
- Review of related literature
    - Legal status of American Indians
        - The Federal Constitution
        - Literature related to Congressional activities
        - Three Tribes Constitution, Charter, and Council Minutes
- The Executive branch of the United States Government
- Dissertations, Theses, Research Reports
- Methodology

Chapter II GENERAL HISTORICAL SURVEY OF FEDERAL INDIAN POLICIES

- European influence on American policy
    - Spanish policy
    - French policy
    - English policy
- Policies of the Colonial Period
- Policies established after the Revolution
    - Boundary settlements
    - Early United States policies
    - Early development of Indian education
- Policies during the Indian removal period
    - Expansion policy
    - Legislation
    - Western domain
    - Transfer of the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) to Department of Interior
    - Education during removal period

- Reservation period
  - Background
  - Indian reorganization
- Termination period
- Laws and acts concerning Indian education since 1877
- Summary
- Conclusion

Chapter III HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF THE MANDAN, HIDATSA, AND ARIKARA

- Prehistoric origins
  - Mandan
  - Hidatsa
  - Arikara
- Historical period
  - Population data
- Fur trader period
- Conditions leading up to the Laramie Treaty--1837-1851
- Treaties--1825-1851
- Post Laramie Treaty period--1851-1862
- Military period--1863-1883
  - Morals of agents
  - Schools and missionaries
- Summary

Chapter IV HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT FROM THE 1870's THROUGH THE 1940's

- Allotment period
  - Congressional acts concerning Indians
  - Non-Indian development
  - Early industry to 1900
- Education
  - Schools--1875-1896
    - Fort Stevenson boarding school
    - Congregational mission school to 1890
    - Catholic mission and school
  - Schools--1896-1910
- Industrial development--1900-1933
  - Condition in 1900's
    - Income analysis
    - Governmental change of emphasis
  - Economic progress to 1920
  - Congressional investigations
    - Fort Berthold economic picture during the depression
    - United States Senate investigation--1933-34
- Collier era
  - Indian legislation
  - Conditions on reservation following the Indian Reorganization Act
  - Population shifts
  - Entrance into World War II

- Education
    - Early 1900's
        - Course of study
    - 1920's
        - Meriam Survey
        - Boarding schools
    - Educational philosophy
    - Survey on Fort Berthold schools
    - Progress in education
- Summary

Chapter V MODERN PERIOD FROM 1950

- Garrison Dam
- Social problems
- Conditions at the time of "taking"
- Disbursement of funds
- Post relocation problems - the 1950's
- The decade of the 1960's - hope
    - Education in the 1960's
    - New boundaries
    - Claims
    - Problems
- Summary and conclusions

CHAPTER II

GENERAL HISTORICAL SURVEY OF FEDERAL INDIAN POLICIES

EUROPEAN INFLUENCES ON AMERICAN POLICY

To understand the forces at work in Europe promoting the rise of expansionism, one should review the economic, religious, political, and social forces which were prevalent during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, previous to the transplantation of the social institutions of Europe on American soil.

Throughout Europe during the middle ages, the economy remained static, the Church dominating all areas of life. Methods of agriculture and manufacturing changed so imperceptibly that there was little or no increase in the productive capacity of either. However, during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries a new era dominated by mercantilism, a philosophy of national power, made its appearance. With the rise of colonialism came the rise of a money economy which stimulated the growth of economic activity and led to the establishment of economic systems. The ultimate aim of foreign policy was to pursue whatever tactics would maximize the inflow of gold while minimizing its outflow from the nation's coffers. Two methods were used to induce a gold inflow: one was by some form of theft which resulted in policies of imperialism as seen by the early Spanish policies in the new world and the early English piracy against the Spanish; the other was through foreign trade, resulting in colonialism and eventually with the problems between

England and her colonies which were later to form the United States.[1]

The Protestant Reformation promoted the rise of European nationalism through the formation of nation states, forcing the Catholic counter-Reformation. Scholasticism was feeling the influence of Islamic thought and Greek learning. Humanism, the philosophy which undergirded the Renaissance, had begun to make inroads since Dante laid the foundation in the early fourteenth century. The Southern Renaissance reached northern Europe through humanism and the Protestant Reformation, particularly in the Netherlands, France, Germany, and England from 1430 to 1660.[2] In January of 1492, Spain had completed its drive to expel the Moors. The following October, Columbus arrived in the Bahamas in his search for a new route to Asia.

The religious developments of the sixteenth century affected the colonization of America in several ways:

> 1) Minority groups opposing the state religion--such as the Puritans in England and the Mennonites and Moravians in Germany--looked to the New World as a place where they might worship God according to their lights. Thus the number of willing colonists was larger than it might have been.
>
> 2) Protestantism encouraged business enterprise by emphasizing the virtues of thrift and hard work, and permitting loans at interest, which in Catholic doctrine was usury, a sin. Overseas trading ventures often required loans and in many cases led to the founding of colonies. Colonization, from the point of view of many colonial promoters, was big business, and such business thrived as never before in a Protestant atmosphere.
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> 3) The rise of national religions, in which the church was subordinate to the national sovereign, strengthened the

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[1] Charles L. Cole. The Economic Fabric of Society. New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, Inc., 1969, pp. 26-36.

[2] Mehdi Nakosteen. The History and Philosophy of Education. New York: The Ronald Press Company, 1965, pp. 227-229.

nation-states. And the interests of the state, as well as the lure of private profit, provided a motive for the foundation of colonies.

4) Besides personal and national aggrandizement, the spread of religion was an object of colonization. The religious motive was sharpened by the contest between the forces of the Protestant Reformation and those of the Counter-Reformation. The contest was extended from the Old World to the New. Catholics sought to keep America Catholic and Protestants tried to frustrate Rome and win America, or at least a part of it, for their own particular faith.[1]

Prior to the 17th century, the medieval political pattern consisted of two powers, the State and the Church; the Church ruled by divine right controlling the powers of the State. Until the thirteenth century the Church had controlled all aspects of individual and social life--economic, political, religious, and intellectual--but the Church gradually lost its supremacy over the State at which time nationalism began to challenge this ecclesiastical authority. The authoritarianism and dogmatism of the Church was being replaced by the absolutism and autocracy of the monarchs.[2] Forbes describes the effect of these developments on American colonization:

> Given the anarchy of European affairs and the constant desire of Europeans to conquer and mistreat each other, it did not really make any appreciable difference whether Americans were as 'mannerly and civil as any of Europe' or not. The aggressive tendencies of the age made conquest a normal feature of human existence, and the Americas, made up of small, loosely organized, democratic or semi-democratic states, were ripe for the picking--or so it seemed. Thus commenced the long struggle between Redman and White, which was to change Europe as well as America.[3]

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[1] Harry T. Williams, Richard N. Current, and Frank Freidel. _A History of the United States to 1877_, 3rd ed. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1969, p. 18.

[2] Nakosteen, _op_. _cit_., p. 252.

[3] Jack D. Forbes, Editor. _The Indian in America's Past_. Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice-Hall, 1964, p. 12.

Spanish policy

Two sides to the Spanish picture existed in the settlement of the Americas. On the one hand:

> The Spaniards acquired more new territory than Rome conquered in five centuries. Genghis Khan swept over a greater area, but left only destruction in his wake; the Spaniards organized and administered all that they conquered, brought in the arts and letters of Europe, and converted millions to their faith.[1]

On the other hand, there was:

> . . . the inordinate greed for gold and the revolting cruelty to which the Indians were often subjected; yet, too, there was the faith of the Spaniards and the chivalrous courtesy that their descendants have inherited, and the arts that followed fast on the heels of conquest.[2]

The Spanish conquest of the Americas began over a hundred years before that of the French and English. A warrior class had developed during the civil wars in Spain in which militarily experienced and well armed Conquistadores were backed by an aggressive and powerful state. "Religious zeal and a great desire for wealth provided the psychological incentives necessary for the transference of Spanish authority."[3]

The Spaniards believed that the Indians were to be brought under the authority of God and king by peaceful means if possible, but by the sword if necessary and that they had no right to self-determination or self-government.[4] The Indian population responded to this policy during this early period by a decrease of population brought about by disease, suicide rather than slavery, and mothers' refusal to bear children. As the West Indies were being depopulated, the Spaniards brought in slaves from other Indian islands as well as from Africa. In the meantime, various expeditions reached Florida, Panama, Yucatan, Mexico, and what is now the southwestern part of the United States.[1]

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[1] Samuel Eliot Morison and Henry Steele Commager. The Growth of the American Republic, I (New York: Oxford University Press, 1962, p. 33.

[2] Ibid., p. 34.

[3] Jack D. Forbes. The Indian in America's Past. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1964, pp. 9-10.

[4] Ibid., p. 10.

The Spanish priests, who came from an authoritarian, European agrarian society, viewed the Indian as uncivilized and animalistic. They were opposed to the democratic tendencies of the Indian groups as seen in their inclination to disobey their tribal leaders.[2] As a consequence, the native Indians in many areas were subjugated in various ways ranging from extermination to minor slavery. The missions of California were absolutely totalitarian institutions in which friars and soldiers regulated almost every phase of native life. They were royal institutions designed to control native populations and transform them into Catholic subjects of the Crown. "The salvation of souls was important to the more devout of the missionaries; however, the government was most interested in producing docile taxpayers and laborers--and the government established most of the missions."[3]

A dualism and ambivalence underlay the colonizing as well as the dependency-ruling enterprises of the Spanish, French and English. This dualism is still prevalent today. Collier has the following explanation for this ambivalence:

> At one extreme, uninhibited exploitation, ravenous and unconcealed, annihilating the labor supply in exchange for quick

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[1] _Ibid._, p. 10.

[2] _Ibid._, p. 16.

[3] _Ibid._, pp. 74-75.

> returns. At the other extreme, ethical and humanitarian judgment and purpose, battling and laboring through lifetimes, renewed through centuries. Within the first extreme, struggle (within the Spanish Crown itself) between the short-range interest which was willing to consume whole populations in order to win quick gold, and the long range interest which for permanent revenue took the well-being of subject peoples into account. Within the second extreme, there was the drive toward root-and-branch reforms and greatly imagined humanitarian programs, warring against the entire system of exploitation, secular and ecclesiastical, and efforts at reform (idealistically motivated) which sought to work within the exploitative system.

The total result was a failure of both, the depopulation and social degradation of the native masses, the retardation and distortion of the development of the conquerors, and eventually the internal decay of Spain herself.[1]

At times the secular and the ecclesiastical interests were united in their ambitions, and at other times they clashed. The same conflicts of motives were found within the monastic orders as those existing within the Crown. Religion continued as a motive for conquest throughout the whole movement, leading to an unprecedented assault against native religions and attrition of the ecological complex which had been vital to the native tribal societies.[2]

The autocratic Spanish rule reserved absolute power for the rulers but denied legislative and administrative experience for the Indians. The provinces of the Church and the Crown were clearly defined, with the former striving to convert the Indian to Christianity, and the latter seeking to produce workers for the newly developing economy. Collier says that:

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[1] John Collier. The Indians of the Americas. New York: W. W. Norton and Company, Inc., 1947, pp. 116-118.

[2] Ibid., p. 118.

> The theory was this: by conversion you saved their immortal souls. By training them to work at their daily tasks (under your dispensation) you taught them how to live under the European way of life.[1]

Trade (imperialism), rather than seizure and development of land (colonization), was the original goal of the Spanish. After a futile attempt to develop the American Indian as a potential labor source for the support of a precious metal economy, the Spaniards turned to the importation of Negro slaves. After the sixteenth century, the Spanish possessions in the New World took on the characteristics of colonies rather than imperialistic extractive societies.[2] This improved the Spanish economy during the next century since imperialism had far less impact on Spain's economy than colonization which brought to Europe corn, potatoes, tobacco, and other products such as rubber, chocolate and tomatoes--products which contributed significantly to the ability of the European population to grow.

If cultures can be judged in relation to the mores of their times, the Spaniards were no more cruel or predatory than other European nations. The Indians were probably as well off as were the serfs of continental Europe or some of the peasants of the British Isles. Since they were in the agrarian stage of development, a surplus economy began to develop in the new world, some of the more valuable attributes of European civilization replaced the conqueror's avaricious desires for gold and silver. The Church became more of a dominant influence in the social and economic life of the natives:

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[1] _Ibid._, p. 123.

[2] Norman A. Graebner, Gilbert C. Fite, and Philip L. White. _A History of the American People_. New York: McGraw Hill Book Company, 1970, pp. 15-17.

> They transferred their language and learning, their tools and mechanical arts from the homeland to the colonies. They transplanted grains and fruits and vegetables, including wheat, oranges, lemons, grapes, bananas, olives, and sugar cane. They introduced domestic animals such as cows, pigs, mules, and especially horses, which soon multiplied and ran wild even beyond the colonial frontiers, becoming accessible to the Indians far north on the Great Plains and revolutionizing their way of life. And though the Spaniards brought the sword, they also brought the cross. Priests or friars accompanied every colonizing venture, making each settlement a Christian community and carrying the gospel bravely to the heathen.[1]

Education among the Spanish

Education followed two main streams. At first, the Spanish were concerned with the passage of their own culture between the generations of their own social systems. Later, education was involved in the process of introducing the Spanish culture to the Indians who obtained a body of knowledge in the rudiments of mining and farming, utilizing European technology. They also were introduced to the European spiritual symbols and beliefs, which were important educational factors having future implications.

French Policy

The two main interests in New France were the conversion of the Indians to Christianity and the "conversion of beaver" into furs which could be sold in Europe.[2] If gold was the main lure for Spanish exploration, the economic importance of the fur trade largely determined the character of the French empire in America, organized so as to allow the Indians to provide the pelts. Since fur trading did not conflict with the Indian way of life, the French rule could be described as benevolent and "laissez faire" with a close, personal contact between the two groups. Agriculture was prevalent only on a narrow strip of land along the banks of the Saint Lawrence River where the habitants tilled the soil as virtual serfs of the feudal landholders, a reproduction of the rural life of old France.[1]

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[1] Harry T. Williams, etal., op. cit., pp. 14-15.

[2] Morrison, op. cit., p. 72.

The French claimed as New France all of North America from the Alleghenies to the Rockies, and from Mexico and Florida to the North Pole, except for the area claimed by the English on the borders of Hudson Bay. Into this area, they restricted immigration to all but Roman Catholics of orthodox beliefs, with the result that this vast domain was peopled by approximately eighty thousand French colonists.[2] Parkman commented that:

> A rigid scion of the old European tree was set to grow in the wilderness. The military Governor, holding his miniature Court on the rock of Quebec; the feudal proprietors, whose domains lined the shores of the St. Lawrence; the peasant; the roving bushranger; the half-tamed savage, with crucifix and scalping-knife; priests; friars; nuns; and soldiers,--mingled to form a society the most picturesque on the continent. What distinguished it from the France that produced it was a total absence of revolt against the laws of its being,--an absolute conservatism, an unquestioning acceptance of Church and King. The Canadian, ignorant of everything but what the priest saw fit to teach him, had never heard of Voltaire; and if he had known him, would have thought him a devil. He had, it is true, a spirit of insubordination born of the freedom of the forest; but if his instincts rebelled, his mind and soul were passively submissive. The unchecked control of a hierarchy robbed him of

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[1] Dumas Malone and Basil Rauch. Empire for Liberty, I (New York: Appleton-Century_Crofts, Inc., 1960), pp. 26-27.

[2] Francis Parkman. Montcalm and Wolfe. New York: Collier Books, 1962 (set from the 1884 ed.), p. 38.

> the independence of intellect and character, without which, under the conditions of modern life, a people must resign itself to a position of inferiority. Yet Canada had a vigor of her own. It was not in spiritual deference only that she differed from the country of her birth. Whatever she had caught of its corruptions, she had caught nothing of its effeminacy. The mass of her people lived in a rude poverty,--not abject, like peasant of old France, nor ground down by the tax-gatherer; while those of the higher ranks--all more or less engaged in pursuits of war or adventure, and inured to rough journeyings and forest exposures--were rugged as their climate. Even the French regular troops, sent out to defend the colony, caught its hardy spirit, and set an example of stubborn fighting which their comrades at home did not always emulate.[1]

Historical accident can account for the fact that the territory now called the United States was claimed by competing European ethnic groups who exploited the Indian tribes to further their imperialistic aims, not just conquering nations. Indirect rule, with a high legal status for the native societies who were elevated sufficiently to allow them to be represented as distinct, independent, political communities with the power to demand and make treaties, became the calculated policy of the trade-competing and warring imperialisms, particularly those of England and France. This policy became standardized and codified in treaties and statutes from the beginning and later these theoretical premises were basic elements of the Indian policy of the United States.[2]

The French possessions in America were difficult to retain, largely because of the small number of French colonists who were allowed to immigrate and the catastrophic impact of continuous European wars that had their counterpart in the New World. England, Spain, and eventually the United States were the chief benefactors. The French colonial empire in America was dissipated, with the English acquiring the

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[1] Ibid., pp. 39-40

[2] Collier, op. cit., pp. 174-175.

Canadian portions, the United States purchasing the area between the Mississippi and the Rocky Mountains, and the Spanish extending into the southern portions. Eventually, the United States was to gain control of a large portion of the Spanish territories, leaving England and the United States as the two major powers in the continent of North America.

English Policy

Prior to the sixteenth century, English imperialistic activities consisted primarily of exploration and plunder, but by the latter part of the century her interests broadened to include colonization.[1] The English were largely responsible for the transplantation of the age old European traditions in the New World, particularly within what has become the United States and Canada. According to Williams:

> In colonizing America, Englishmen brought to this continent not only their material things like tools and their manual skills, their preferences in clothing, their styles in clothing, their styles of housing and their tastes in food. They brought also their familiar symbols of calculation and communication. They brought their weights and measures--foot, yard, rod, mile, acre, ounce, pound, ton, pint, quart, gallon and so on--and also their money system of pounds, shillings, and pence. Above all, they brought their language.[2]

With the English language came a body of thought and feeling, the King James version of the Bible, their nature of religious expression, their type of literary classics, their pattern of education, and the wisdom of their people. From these they derived their conceptions of the proper relationship of man to man in society. They were a pragmatic people, lacking a capability for long term planning and consistent action, but amenable to change through compromise. The English were more self-reliant economically than their European neighbors, but less dependent and inhibited by their government. An important legacy was the English law which formed the basis of American common law with its rule of precedents. This form of constitutional government was one of laws, not men, with the courts exerting power over the "Divine Right." Although representative government became established, within bounds, it was considered proper to resist authority when it was abused, in spite of a harsh criminal code. Certain conditions of the New World, such as the mixture of heterogeneous ethnic groups, new challenges and opportunities, varying geographical and climatic conditions, and demographic variations, tempered these heritages, and allowed only a partial diffusion of the Old World society.[1]

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[1] Graebner, op. cit., pp. 67-68.

[2] Williams, op. cit., p. 20.

POLICIES OF THE COLONIAL PERIOD

In theory, the Crown was the owner and sovereign of the lands settled by Englishmen, and further, it granted and regranted territory to companies or proprietors by imposing varying conditions; but, it failed to set indisputable boundaries.[2] The colonizers were supported by wealthy individuals, stock companies, or unincorporated groups, who received grants to establish colonies in the New World. Jamestown, the first permanent colony, sought quick profits by searching for gold and other exportable products, but by 1609, their goals shifted and they began to support an agricultural and trading community. With the granting of the third charter in 1612, Virginia gained extensive powers for its tobacco dominated agricultural economy.[1]

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[1] Williams, op. cit., pp. 20-23.

[2] Ibid., p. 30.

The motives for settlement of the New England area stemmed primarily from religious discontent rather than economic gain. The Mayflower Compact bound its members to a civil rather than a religious society which was to be controlled by "just and equal Laws...for the general Good of the Colony," although some Puritan governors ruled both Church and State. Massachusetts soon became a most desirable haven for disgruntled Puritans from England;[2] Pennsylvania attracted large numbers of Quakers; New York served as a center for Dutch colonization; and Georgia provided a new start in life for imprisoned English debtors in addition to serving as a military barrier against the Spaniards to the south.[3]

The early colonies were settled by heterogeneous groups of all religious faiths from the British Empire and the European Continent. They came to establish a permanent home for themselves rather than to seek quick financial gain with which to retire to their homeland. As a result, with the arrival of the first settlers, the fundamental struggle was concerned with possession of the land. The colonists frequently needed additional soil for new settlements necessitating land acquisition by the governing bodies, who, in turn, were working out policies towards the Indians on land ownership. A dichotomy clearly developed, with the Indians retaining prior right of natural occupancy to the soil but being generally ignored whenever territory was transferred in large blocks between nations. The system of using treaties for the purchase of land gradually evolved. The treaties were negotiated by the Crown and later by the Federal government, on the one hand, and with the individual tribes on the other. However, individual states occasionally negotiated separate treaties in order to secure their right to the soil.[1]

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[1] Ibid., pp. 31-33.

[2] Ibid., pp. 33-39.

[3] Ibid., pp. 42-48.

By 1770, over two million people of European and African origin inhabited the thirteen colonies, supporting an economy of sufficient productivity to engage in export trade with the world market. Virginia and Maryland became the principal suppliers of tobacco; the lower South produced rice and indigo; New England produced fish and forest products, some manufactured items and also engaged in shipping; and the middle Colonies developed an extensive commerce based on surplus farm products such as wheat. In spite of sectionalism, common interests were beginning to develop between the colonies.[2]

The treaty system, first employed by the Spanish, was adopted by the other European powers. From time to time, British colonies negotiated treaties with the Indians prohibiting unauthorized purchase of Indian land by individual colonists. The adoption of the Spanish treaty system by the other European powers was to:

> . . . curtail the problem of relocation and resettlement of Indians and tribes; to eliminate conflicts of land titles that

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[1] Reginald Horsman. Expansion and American Indian Policy, 1783-1812. Lansing, Michigan: Michigan State University Press, 1967, p. 1.

[2] Graebner. op. cit., pp. 67-68.

> otherwise resulted from overlapping grants by individual Indians or tribes; to protect the Indians in some measure, against fraud, and to center in the colonial governments control as well as a valuable monopoly....On several occasions the Crown indicated its belief in the sanctity of treaty obligations. Some of the treaties contained definite stipulations regarding land tenure.[1]

Trade, containing economic, political and military aspects, was the major point of contact with the Indians. Firearms and liquor were banned by the governments as items for trade; however, liquor was traditionally used by traders to strike a hard bargain and its use was hard to stop, even when a licensing system was established to control the trader. The fundamental policy of the British was to establish an Indian dependency upon their traders as a source of goods, a policy which was of great benefit during the French and Indian War.[2]

In an attempt to set a new policy for the purchase of Indian Lands, George III issued the Proclamation of 1763. It proclaimed three things:

> It established the boundaries and the government for the new colonies, offered specific encouragement to settlement on the newly acquired areas, and established a new policy in Indian affairs.[3]

This proclamation attempted to create a boundary line between the Indians and the whites, giving rise to the idea of "Indian Country." Tribal ownership of land was recognized and care was taken to regularize the purchase of these lands from the natives. In some colonies, clearly marked reservations were determined, but in other settlements, the Indian families continued to live side by side with the whites. The Governors were forbidden to issue any warrants for surveys or patents involving land beyond the boundaries set for the Indian country. The line was not considered a permanent boundary within the older colonies, but rather a means of providing for a regulated acquisition of Indian lands in a way that would not increase resentment of the Indians. Precedent was thus set for a separation between the white and red man, an action which was to have later application under the constitution of the United States.

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[1] Frank B. Horne and Margaret F. Hurley. Federal Indian Law. Washington: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1958, p. 166.

[2] Francis Paul Prucha. American Indian Policy in the Formative Years. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1962, pp. 6-11.

[3] Ibid., pp. 13-25.

POLICIES ESTABLISHED AFTER THE REVOLUTION

In 1774, the Quebec Act provided a civil government for the French-speaking Roman Catholics inhabiting Canada and the Illinois country by extending the boundaries of Quebec to include the French communities between the Ohio and Mississippi rivers, granting political rights to Roman Catholics, and recognizing the legality of the Roman Catholic Church within this enlarged province. This Act served to unite the colonies against England because of their fear of Catholicism, culminating in and setting the emotional climate for the Continental Congress which began its session at Philadelphia in September.[1]

Several policies were carried over from the Colonial period, particularly the imperial policy which sought to conciliate native groups in order to provide stability and encourage commerce. In opposition to the imperial policy was the settler's policy which promoted the removal of the natives and the acquisition of the land. The new Government of the United States pursued an increasingly expansionist, anti-Indian policy during the period in which it was operating under the Articles of Confederation and the early years of its operation under the Constitution.[1]

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[1] Williams, op. cit., pp. 131-136.

Most of the abuses of the traders and the encroachment of white settlers and hunters upon Indian country came from the colonists. The British, on the other hand, had a good record of dealing justly with the Indians, protecting their rights to the land and furs, and furnishing goods in trade at a fair price. They were successful, therefore, in retaining the allegiance of most of the tribes during and after the War for Independence.[2]

Although the colonists acknowledged the Indian right of soil, the inevitability of the seizure of Indian land by force was ever present. The Indian quickly realized that the colonist's desire for land ownership was not compatible with Indian occupancy.[3]

The Northwest Ordinance of 1787 contained the following Article on Indian Affairs:

> Article 3. The utmost good faith shall always be observed towards the Indians; their land and property shall never be taken from them without their consent; and in their property, rights, and liberty, they shall never be invaded or disturbed, unless in just and lawful wars authorized by Congress; but laws founded in justice and humanity shall be made, for preventing wrongs being done to them, and for preserving peace and friendship with them.[4]

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[1] Forbes, op. cit., p. 98.

[2] Prucha, op. cit., pp. 26-27.

[3] Horsman, op. cit., pp. 1-2.

[4] Horne, op. cit., p. 94.

This was the first of many measures by which the Continental Congress used "plenary" authority to legislate means of land acquisition and control over Indian tribes.[1] Three other Statutes were passed by the Congress which set precedents for the power of Federal authority in their dealings with the Indians. The Act of August 7, 1789, involved the power to make war and, presumably, peace; the Act of August 20, 1789, gave the Federal government the right to make treaties; and the Act of September 11, 1789, gave the new Government the power to spend money.[2]

The Treaty of Paris ending the Revolutionary War, signed on September 3, 1783, recognized the independence of the United States, granting "astonishingly liberal" boundaries. The territory of the new Republic was to stretch from the Atlantic Ocean westward to the Mississippi River with the northern limits roughly those of today and the southern boundary extending to Spanish East and West Florida. The colonists had made no concerted effort during the war to conquer the area south of the Ohio River although George Rogers Clark had seized the British posts in the southwestern part of the territory north of the Ohio River.[3]

Boundary Settlements

Following the Treaty of Paris, Britain failed to withdraw from a chain of military and trading posts stretching from Lake Champlain to Lake Superior within the river-and-lake boundary of the United States.[1] This period was marked by territorial controversy between Spain, England, and the United States. Spain played a game of intrigue with the powerful Indian tribes located in the southwestern part of the new nation by providing them with firearms for forays against American settlers. The British in the north tightened their control over the trading posts through similar tactics. As a result, both were able to exercise virtual control over more than one half of the territorial domain of the United States.[2]

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[1] Ibid.

[2] Ibid., pp. 94-95.

[3] Thomas A. Bailey. A Diplomatic History of the American People, 6th ed. New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., 1958, pp. 47.

Britain evacuated these trading posts following Jay's Treaty which was signed in London on November 19, 1794. Following the settlement with the British, a similar treaty was signed with the Spanish in the Treaty of San Lorenzo on October 27, 1795, whereby his Catholic Majesty granted to the United States the right to navigate the lower Mississippi, the right of deposit at New Orleans, and recognized the thirty-first parallel to the Chattahoochee as the Southern boundary of the United States. By 1798, the Spanish government had evacuated the posts it held north of latitude 31°.[3]

The Louisiana Purchase was negotiated with Napoleon in April, 1803, giving the United States rights to all of the Mississippi basin.[4] West Florida was occupied in 1810 and annexed by the Act of May 14, 1812, while Mobile was occupied in April, 1813. East Florida was obtained in the Adams-Onis Treaty on February 22, 1819. Included in this treaty was the provision that the United States give up her tenuous title to Texas in exchange for a definition of the western boundary of the Louisiana Purchase and vague rights of Spain to the Oregon country.[1] The Convention of 1818, negotiated in London between England and the United States set the 49th parallel as the boundary between the United States and Canada.[2]

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[1] Ibid., pp. 57-58.

[2] Ibid., p. 60.

[3] Morrison, op. cit., pp. 348-349.

[4] Ibid., pp. 109-114.

In 1824, a treaty was negotiated with Russia by which she agreed to withdraw from 51° to 54°40' Lat. which represents the present southernmost tip of Alaska.[3] On June 15, 1846, a treaty was signed with England setting the 49th parallel as the boundary line between the United States and Canada.[4] Texas was annexed into the Union on March 1, 1845, followed by a peace treaty with Mexico on February 2, 1848, ceding New Mexico and California to the United States and confirming the American title to Texas as far as the Rio Grande. The last acquisition was the Gadsden Purchase on December 30, 1853, which now comprises the southern portions of Arizona and New Mexico and through which the Southern Pacific Railroad was built.[5] The present territorial boundaries of the continental United States were thus secured.

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[1] Bailey, _op_. _cit_., pp. 165-175.

[2] _Ibid_., p. 160.

[3] _Ibid_., p. 188.

[4] _Ibid_., p. 234.

[5] _Ibid_., pp. 250-265.

It is interesting to note that in all of the negotiations between the foreign powers no consideration was given to the Indian tribes who occupied the land. The government of the United States secured from the European nations only the right to govern the territory in question, not the right of occupancy. The discussion which follows will be concerned with the development of laws to secure title to these lands, and the ensuing effect on the Indians.

Early United States Policies

In the years immediately following the revolution, it was assumed that Indian lands could be secured simply as a result of the victory over the British. No estimation was made as to the extent of the Indian's resistance to white settlers. President Washington and Knox, his Secretary of War, contended that soldiers or ex-soldiers should settle the land, compel the Indians to withdraw, and open the western lands to sale and settlement. General Philip Schuyler recommended to the President of the Continental Congress during 1783 that it was futile to continue a war against the tribes since the Indians would return as soon as the armed soldiers withdrew. He argued that peace would allow occupation of an extensive area of new territory and that the encroaching white settlements would produce a scarcity of game, inducing the tribes to retire further west and making it possible to purchase the land for a minimum amount. Furthermore, if the Indians were allowed to remain in the territories, they would not "add strength to Great Britain, harass the American frontiers from a safe base, and deprive the United States of the fur trade."[1]

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[1] Horsman, *op. cit.*, pp. 5-7.

The views of Washington were reflected to a congressional committee through its chairman, James Duane, on September 7, 1783. Washington agreed with the comments of Schuyler and suggested the abandonment of his previously stated position which called for using force to persuade the Indians to move to the west. He believed: 1) that the Indians should give up all their prisoners and be informed of the cessions made to the United States by Great Britain in the Paris Treaty; 2) that since the Indians fought with the British in the Revolution, they could be compelled to retire with the British beyond the Great Lakes, but that the United States was prepared to be generous and allow them to stay; 3) that the United States would establish an American-Indian boundary line beyond which every effort would be made to restrain our people from hunting or settling; 4) that care should be taken not to yield or grasp too much; 5) that compensation should be given if the Indians insisted; and 6) that it should be made a felony for anyone to settle beyond the established line. Washington did not consider the line separating the Indians from the whites as a permanent boundary, but proposed to purchase their lands instead of driving them out by the force of arms.[1]

Horsman feels that there were several miscalculations in these arguments: 1) the assumption was wrong that the Indians, who had sided with the British in the Revolution, would willingly make a cession to the Americans and would be thankful to be allowed to remain on the remaining land; 2) the Indians already were in possession of the territory of what is now Ohio and would be hard to dislodge; 3) it was a fallacy to feel that Indian wars could be avoided as the American-Indian boundaries were moved westward through further cessions; 4) the Indians would put up a desperate resistance when they were faced with the loss of their traditional homes.[1]

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[1] Ibid., pp. 7-9.

On September 22, 1783, the Continental Congress issued a proclamation prohibiting settlement on all lands inhabited or claimed by Indians outside the limits or jurisdiction of any state thereby reserving the right of treaty making for Congress. They had need to retire a rising national debt and proposed to accomplish this by selling land to settlers in the Ohio valley after cessions had been made by the tribes as reparations of war. They argued that reparations by the Indians were necessary to compensate for acts of aggression committed during the Revolutionary War. The congressional action failed to take into account several factors: 1) they assumed that the Indians could be dealt with as though they lacked even a right of soil to the land on which they lived; 2) they assumed that the Indians would accept cessions of land as a form of punishment for losing the war, ignoring the fact that, for the Indians, the Revolution had been only one episode in their long struggle of resistance to European settlers; and 3) the Indians had not suffered heavy reverses on the battlefields west of the Appalachians during the war.[2]

The United States sought two historically incompatible goals in their problems with the Indians during this early formative period: 1) peace with the Indians; and 2) possession of the lands in the Eastern Mississippi Valley. To provide an institutionalized method of attaining these goals, on August 7, 1786, Congress established an Indian department. This newly formed department imposed federal control over Indian affairs by forming separate districts north and south of the Ohio River; by appointing a division superintendent responsible to the Secretary of War; and by permitting only licensed United States citizens to reside or trade among the Indians.

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[1] Ibid., pp. 9-10.

[2] Ibid., p. 12.

The most common procedure utilized by the Federal government to negotiate a treaty was an intimidative maneuver characterized by threats and some movement of troops. These "forced purchases" were, of course, no better than forced cession from the Indian point of view.[1] It should also be noted that many of the provisions of the early treaties were later integrated into Federal statutes pertaining to Indian affairs.

With the establishment of the new Constitutional Government, in the Spring of 1789, Washington submitted to the Senate a report from the Secretary of War on the Treaties of Fort Harmer. In this report he examined the changes in policy which had occurred since 1787, giving them more formal expression in the new Government. He stated that the Indians were prior occupants and possessed the right of the soil; that it could not be taken from them except by their free consent or by the right of conquest in case of a just war. However, a disturbing element in this position is that all wars are just in the eyes of the involved nation. Since conquest would be too costly, every effort was to be made to purchase these rights. What he did not recognize was that the Indians would fight when existing boundaries were threatened by the advance of the American settlers.

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[1] Ibid., pp. 32-47.

At the same time, Knox, asserting his faith in the natural man and his capabilities for improvement, emphasized bringing civilization to the Indians. He contended that assimilation of the native population into the American culture was the only way to avoid annihilation of the tribes. The "fruits of civilization" as a compensatory means thereafter formed a basis of our national policy of Indian land acquisition.[1]

Early Legislation

The influence of Knox and Washington had a decided effect upon the types of legislation which were to be enacted in the immediate future. An example can be seen in the Trade and Intercourse Act, passed on July 22, 1790, which dealt with the conduct of licensed traders, the sale of Indian lands, the commission of crimes and trespasses against Indians, and the procedure for punishing white men committing offenses against Indians. The substance of this Act remains law to this day.[2]

The second Trade and Intercourse Act of March 1, 1793, introduced additional provisions: a prohibition against settlement on Indian lands with authority given the President to remove such settlers; a section on horse thieves and horse traders; a section prohibiting employees in Indian affairs from having any financial interest with the Indians; goods and services to be furnished the Indian tribes; and a clarification of the legal status of Indians within the jurisdiction of any of the individual States.[1]

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[1] *Ibid.*, pp. 53-56.

[2] Horne, *op. cit.*, pp. 95-97.

The Act of 1796 defined Indian country, prohibited the driving of livestock on Indian lands, required passports for persons traveling into tribal domain, and provided for punishment of Indians under certain conditions.[2]

The Act of April 18, 1796, established Government trading houses under control of the President of the United States. The Act of May 13, 1800, provided for the issuance of rations out of Army provisions to Indians visiting the military posts of the United States. A permanent Trade and Intercourse Act was passed on March 30, 1802, which incorporated the previous temporary provisions and added a section dealing with the liquor problem.[3]

An important statute affecting education was adopted on March 3, 1819, entitled "An act making provision for civilization of the Indian Tribes adjoining the frontier settlements." Section 1 provided for instruction to be given, on consent of the Indians, in reading, writing, and arithmetic where the President judged it practical. Section 2 established a permanent annual authorization of $10,000 for carrying out the provisions of Section 1.[1]

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[1] Ibid., pp. 97-98.

[2] Ibid., p. 98.

[3] Ibid., pp. 99-100.

EARLY DEVELOPMENT OF INDIAN EDUCATION

The native Indian culture was permanently influenced by English trade, the introduction of tools, agricultural implements, and weapons of war; but the development of educational facilities was hampered by the slowness in centralizing colonial administration, governmental indifference, frequent unfitness of English clergymen to teach Indians, interdenominational strife, and Indian uprisings against white encroachment.[2]

Colonial Indian education by the British and French aimed to make converts, train missionaries, and produce laborers skilled in European work techniques. Academic training was reserved for those who were to go into the ministry and a few Indians became missionaries among their people. Some Indians attended Harvard, Dartmouth, Princeton University, and the College of William and Mary. Despite a century and a half of English rule, little modification in the European sense had occurred among the Indians, with little change in the basic native economy.[3]

The Continental Congress continued the British policy of recognizing tribal occupancy. Their main course revolved around the shifting of the Indian population to new locations, especially in cases where the presence of the Indians impeded national growth. The tribes were often alienated in the process. Early action of Congress provided funds to maintain ministers and teachers among the Indians to serve as diplomatic agents during the war. This concerted effort of the teachers and missionaries was a factor in the colonial victory since they helped keep peace between the Oneidas, Tuscaroras, and Stockbridge tribes and the Government, demonstrating the use of congressional funds for Indian education as a matter of expedience in times of political and military crisis.[1]

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[1] _Ibid_., p. 101.

[2] Evelyn C. Adams. _American Indian Education_. Morningside Heights, New York: King's Crown Press, 1946, pp. 23-24.

[3] _Ibid_., pp. 25-26.

Indian education remained under exclusive supervision of the Churches until 1793, when resident agents appointed by the President assumed control of a limited number of practical education projects subsidized by the Government. According to Prucha:

> As time passed and experience deepened, it became ever clearer that it was not possible for the two races--the one civilized, the other savage--to exist together in some sort of amalgam; the Indians must become civilized if they were to form an integral part of the American society. This was the basic assumption which governed the thinking of the men who molded American Indian policy, remote from the brutal outlook of many frontiersmen, who would happily have accepted the total destruction of the aborigines.
>
> The process of civilization was to be marked by--indeed it was to be brought about by--transition from the nomadic life of the hunter, who depended on the chase, to the settled life of the farmer, who depended on the surer sustenance provided by the ways of agriculture and it was assumed that as soon as Indians learned the ways of agriculture and domestic manufacture, they would see the advantages of this way of life over their old habits and readily, if not eagerly, adopt them. The Indians would then become absorbed into the American society.[2]

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[1] Ibid., pp. 26-68.

[2] Prucha, op. cit., pp. 213-214.

Federal funds for the practical training of the Indians were designated through executive order, congressional appropriations, and treaty stipulations. In 1792, Washington directed that $500 be expended annually for the purchase of clothing, domestic animals, and farming implements, and the employment of useful artisans to reside among the six nations. The amount was increased in 1798 to not more than $20,000 annually but reduced in 1802 to $15,000. Society funds, treaty funds and various forms of Federal aid, such as housing or additional land, maintained the early educational system. The majority of the treaties made before the 1800's contained sections pertaining to Indian education although only limited provisions were present during the next decade due to increased Indian hostility, especially during the War of 1812.[1]

The first permanent source of revenue for Indian education was provided in the Statute of March 3, 1819, followed in 1820 by a designation of treaty annuities for educational use.

A Federal policy in which organized missionary work was combined with Federal subsidies developed with the advent of a system of boarding and day schools. First proposed by the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions in 1820, the subsidies provided funds for the establishment of four boarding schools and thirty-two day schools, and for missions west of the Mississippi River.[2]

POLICIES DURING THE INDIAN REMOVAL PERIOD

Expansion Policy

During the middle and latter part of the 19th century, the belief was widely held that it was the destiny of the United States to expand its territory over the whole of North America and to extend and enhance its political, social and economic influences. The application of this idea called "manifest destiny" continued to accelerate the rate of encroachment of the white settlers into the Indian country with the Federal government making only a token effort to enforce the treaty provisions, but never losing sight of the goal that peaceful cession would promote westward expansion. Armed intervention became the last resort when peace was not possible. The period was marked by a continuous series of illegal white settlements, followed by requests for cessions. Prucha says that the energy of the government in removing intruders was:

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[1] Adams, op. cit., pp. 29-32.

[2] Ibid., pp. 32-33.

> . . . proportunate, either directly or inversely, to a number of other circumstances: to the length of time during which the Indian claims were expected to be maintained; to the seriousness of Indian objections to the intruders, since often removal was the only way to prevent an Indian war; to the necessity of convincing the Indians of the government's good faith, in order to keep them in a proper frame of mind for some impending treaty, at which more concessions of land were to be sought; to the pressures of white settlement, for full-scale drives into an area usually led to new treaties of cession rather than to removal of the whites; to the boldness and aggressiveness of the agents and the military commanders in enforcing the laws; to the military forces available in the area where encroachment was threatened; to the strength of frontier opposition to military action against the intruders; and to the color of the title which the settlers on the Indian lands could display and the character of the settlers themselves.[1]

Leaders, such as Thomas Jefferson, felt that American expansion could be carried out with justice towards the Indian, but after becoming President, he found a reluctance on the part of the Indians to enter into negotiations for the sale of land with the rapidity dictated by the expansion policy. The frontiersmen considered the aborigines to be "savages who murdered and tortured and burned" and had little regard for them as human beings. As a result the Federal government was faced with a series of restraining actions against the frontiersmen, but in the end the vision of a great nation extending to the Mississippi and beyond decided against the Indians.[1]

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[1] Prucha, op. cit., pp. 185-187.

Horsman sums up the Indian side of the story by saying:

> The fatal flaw in the whole policy was a misjudgement of the Indians themselves; a misjudgement that perhaps stemmed from an unwillingness to face reality. The Indians did not want to yield their lands either to conquest or by purchase and were prepared to fight rather than accept the constant requests for sales of land. Rather than the land beyond each boundary slipping easily and quietly into American hands, each major advance brought bitter resentment and Indian hostilities; they resented forced purchase as they had resented the land appropriation of the years immediately following the Revolution. Moreover, the bringing of civilization was no solution. Though this was not realized in the post-Revolutionary period, acculturation was a long and incredibly difficult process. And, of course, even where limited success was achieved--notably among the Cherokees--it was quite obvious that whatever the desires of the government to maintain the good reputation of the nation, the frontiersmen were more interested in the Indian giving up his land than learning to farm it.[2]

The moral justifications of the benefits of civilization which continued to guide Federal policy eventually would require an adequate judicial system for the Indian country wherein the Indians were treated with equally scrupulous justice as the whites. In practice, this was not the case since the legal machinery depended upon the local courts, resulting in a continuous stream of jurisdictional problems. The laws and treaties were not effective in themselves as long as the lack of enforcement made a mockery of the statutes, resulting in no established channel through which grievances could be aired. Frequently, the use of arms was necessary, forcing an Indian removal to lands farther away from the whites.[1]

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[1] Horsman, op. cit., pp. 104-109.

[2] Ibid., pp. 172-173.

Legislation

The decade of the 1830's was one of the most significant in the history of Indian legislation. The Act of May 28, 1830, governed Indian removal; the Act of July 9, 1832, established the post of Commissioner of Indian Affairs; two Acts were passed on June 30, 1834, one the Indian Trade and Intercourse Act, and the other providing for the organization of the Department of Indian Affairs; and the Act of January 9, 1837, dealt with the regulation and disposition of proceeds of ceded Indian lands.[2]

The Indian Removal Act of May 28, 1830, established in general terms the policy for the exchange of Federal lands east of the Mississippi for those further west. This had already been done in some cases. The Act provided: 1) voluntary exchanges, 2) payments for improvements, and 3) guarantees concerning permanence of the new homes.[3] The passage of the Removal Act was supported by such arguments as: desire to possess land currently being held by the Indians; desire to speed the economic development of the country by not having the aboriginal population stationed within the States proper; wish to lessen the causes of Indian wars; and other humanitarian reasons.[1] After this legislation was passed, a new approach to the Indian problem evolved.

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[1] Prucha, op. cit., pp. 188-206.

[2] Horne, op. cit., p. 102.

[3] Ibid.

With the policy of removal came increased Federal activity, necessitating the appointment of a Commissioner of Indian Affairs in 1832. The Bureau remained under the direction of the Secretary of War and subject to the regulations prescribed by the President.[2] John C. Calhoun, the Secretary of War, had created the Bureau of Indian Affairs by order of March 11, 1824, but he gave no title to the head official. The Act of July 9, 1832, appointed the Commissioner of Indian Affairs who generated a reorganization policy in the Bureau of Indian Affairs, eliminating some of the confusion which had been developing.[3]

The new Trade and Intercourse Act passed on June 30, 1832, consisted largely of a re-enactment of previous legislation with some foreseen modifications. The Act creating the Department of Indian Affairs, passed on the same day, regularized and simplified an already operating system. Both of these acts assumed that removal was an accomplished fact and that any Indians remaining in the states were no longer under Federal jurisdiction. This assumption was not well-founded.[4]

The final important legislation in the decade of the 1830's was passed on January 9, 1837, regulating the disposal of the ceded lands and establishing a lasting basis for handling Indian tribal funds derived from these sales.[1]

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[1] Felix S. Cohen. Handbook of Federal Indian Law, 4th Printing. Washington: United States Government Printing Office, 1945, p. 9.

[2] Ibid., p. 9.

[3] Ibid., p. 10.

[4] Ibid., p. 74.

Western Domain

In 1820, Major Stephen H. Long began an expedition which was to establish a military post at the mouth of the Yellowstone River in what is now northwestern North Dakota. The expedition had a scientific purpose since Long was to report to the States the nature and resources of the western plains between the Missouri and the Rockies. Long concluded that this territory was almost wholly unfit for cultivation and was uninhabitable by groups of people who depended upon agriculture for their subsistence.[2] It did not occur to him that the grass which supported the buffalo would likewise feed domestic stock or that grassland could be equally useful for raising wheat and corn. He felt that the western plains could not support civilized life, but was suitable only for the buffalo and the hunter. What would be better than to create a western domain where the Indian might roam unmolested and where the white settlements would be prohibited? White settlements would never crowd the Indians from this region.[3] But Congress never passed any legislation setting up a permanent Indian territory west of the Mississippi River, and without this, there was little hope that the pledge for Government protection after Indian removal and resettlement in the west could be honored, or that the new Intercourse Act could be better enforced than the former ones. The final chance for a permanent solution to the Indian problem involving a separate Indian Territory was hereby forfeited.[1]

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[1] Ibid., p. 75.

[2] Flora Warren Seymour. The Story of the Red Man. New York: Longmans, Green and Co., 1929, pp. 130-134.

[3] Ibid.

A result of the passage of the Indian Removal Act and the new Trade and Intercourse Act was the gradual development of the idea of a reservation. The Indians in the area west of the Mississippi would be induced to set boundaries to their lands and assign areas for the use of the incoming tribes. Those who were still living in the east would relinquish their lands, accept western areas in their stead, and receive money in return. All of the different land cessions involved payments of money and kind. The army was to negotiate the treaties with each individual tribe. Indian agents were appointed to administer the terms of the agreements. Stipulations were made for the teaching of mechanical arts; schools would be established, but would be the responsibility of the missionary rather than the government, giving education its first major emphasis in Indian relations.[2]

Transfer of Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) to Department of Interior

On March 3, 1849, Congress passed an act establishing the new Department of Interior, which included the Bureau of Indian Affairs, marking a termination of direct War Department control over the Indians.[3]

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[1] Prucha, op. cit., pp. 272-274.

[2] Ibid., pp. 137-140.

[3] Horne, op. cit., pp. 110-111.

The Indian Office and the Land Office were now combined and the BIA passed from military to civil control. The transfer had relatively little effect on the administration of Indian affairs because the office had been essentially a civilian bureau since 1834. However, the debate continued in Congress concerning the wisdom of this change: opponents felt that because of the Indian unrest during this period, there would be better cooperation between the Army and the Bureau if they operated under the Secretary of War; those in favor of having the BIA remain in the Interior Department felt that returning it to the War Department would once again emphasize war with the Indians as a national policy.[1]

By 1849, the majority of the Eastern Tribes had been relocated on reservations west of the Mississippi at great cost to themselves. The Plains Indians were disturbed because they were being forced to make room for their brothers as they moved in from the east. The methods used to induce the Plains Indians to move to reservations were negotiation, conciliation, and persuasion, but these were not always successful.[2]

Education in the Removal Period

It had been assumed by the whites that as soon as the Indians learned the ways of agriculture and domestic manufacture, they would see its advantages and consequently be eager to adopt the new culture, and thus become assimilated into the American Society. Inasmuch as the whites were already blessed with this high degree of civilization, they had the responsibility to bring these blessings to their less fortunate red brethren. It was noted that those tribes who were the most advanced in pursuits of industry were also the ones who were most friendly to the United States. Therefore, the Indians should be encouraged to learn the trades and skills of the whites. The next phase was to establish schools for Indian children which was done mainly by the missionaries, and by private and public funding. It was felt that the contact between the Indians and the whites had deleterious effects upon the red man that far outweighed the benefits. Therefore, it was reasoned that if the Indians could be removed beyond the white settlements to a place where contact with the whites could not take place, the slow process of education, civilization, and Christianization could and would take place.

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[1] Cohen, op. cit., pp. 10-11.

[2] Stuart Levine and Nancy Oestreich Lurie. The American Indian Today. Deland, Florida: Everett/Edwards, Inc., 1968, p. 37.

By the 1840's more than 70,000 Indians had been transferred to lands west of the Mississippi. The expenses were defrayed by the government after new treaties were drawn with all of the tribes, substituting new lands for the old and providing annuities. Schools were temporarily suspended during the actual removal process after which education followed four main streams: 1) the manual labor school was introduced; 2) the mission school was continued; 3) certain tribes set up their own schools; and 4) the government, together with the missionaries, provided practical training for adults. The *manual labor school* included instruction both in academic subjects and in the use of farm tools and implements. The hope was that these schools would eventually become self-supporting. The *mission school* offered religious academic instruction, and also engaged the student in part time labor to defray its costs. The *tribal school*, which appeared following the removal to the west, was under tribal supervision, and was sometimes financed by tribal funds, as seen among the Cherokees and Choctaws. The fourth classification was a program for practical training of adults, supported by both the government and the missionaries. In 1848, there were sixteen manual labor schools in operation and seven under construction, as well as 87 other schools with a total enrollment exceeding 3,500 students. Success seemed assured until new developments aided by rapid territorial and industrial expansion once again interfered.[1]

From the point of view of the government, the Intercourse Acts had failed to safeguard the Indian to a very great extent, making removal necessary. In a letter to Andrew Jackson in October, 1817, James Monroe asserted that "the hunter or savage state requires a greater extent of territory to sustain it, than is compatible with the progress and just claims of civilized life, and must yield to it." In December of the same year in his annual message to Congress, he added that it was right that the hunter should give way to the farmer:

> For the earth was given to mankind to support the greatest number of which it is capable, and no tribe or people have a right to withold from the wants of others more than is necessary for their own support and comfort.

Monroe, Calhoun, and Jackson were convinced that an end to the independent status within the white settlements should be the goal for the good of both the Indians and the whites.[2] Future developments confirmed that this type of reasoning was not restricted to the few, but, on the contrary, was diffused.

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[1] Adams, op. cit., pp. 37-41.

[2] Prucha, op. cit., pp. 213-227.

RESERVATION PERIOD

Background

A major factor in the acculturative process of the Indian tribes was seen in the question of autonomy. Previous to the removal period, tribal members enjoyed a traditional way of life, free from outside interference, and were able to adopt customs and artifacts of other peoples as they chose; but this freedom was restricted by the placement of the Indians under some form of control under the agents of American civilization. They were not treated as equals or given opportunities to accept or reject the white culture; on the contrary, the Indian was placed in a subordinate position, with the contact being determined by the nature of the white culture. In practice, this meant that the dominant culture would enforce social and legal concepts by educational or other means, or if necessary, by military power.[1]

The loss of autonomy which followed the placement of the Indian tribes on reservations was another step toward the establishment of a dependency relationship between the Indians and the whites. This study next includes subsequent history involved with this dependency and its effects on Indian life.

Indian country was used as a buffer area between the United States and Mexico until the peace treaty was signed with that country on February 2, 1848, after which Indian country became a barrier to western economic development. By 1854, the United States had acquired approximately a million square miles of territory, bounded by the Indian country, the Pacific Ocean, Canada, and the Rio Grande, thereby doubling the Indian population. Although treaties were negotiated with the new tribes, the boundaries set by these compacts did not remain permanent due to the fact that new settlers were constantly encroaching on Indian lands, as demonstrated by the occupation of New Ulm in Minnesota by the Germans and the ensuing massacre of 1862 as well as the spread of other white settlements all of the way to the Pacific Ocean.

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[1] Robert F. Berkhofer, Jr. *Salvation and the Savage*. Lexington, Kentucky: University of Kentucky Press, 1965, p. 65.

Two important events occurred in 1862: the passage of the Homestead Act which offered free lands to permanent white settlers in western lands; and the subsidization of transcontinental railroads by land grants which encouraged intercontinental railroad construction. By 1869, the Union Pacific Railroad alone had been granted thirty-three million acres of western lands, and these grants continued to mount until by 1871 Congress had voted more than one hundred and fifty million acres to rail lines. Buffalo herds were depleted as the white man utilized their meat to feed the railroad workers and their hides for manufacture. The Indians were no longer naive, often finding themselves in open conflict with the Federal government and the troops which were placed thoughout Indian country.[1]

A Congressional committee was appointed to investigate the situation among the Indian tribes in 1865. Its report disclosed the state of the diminishing tribes, the failure of the government's work, the slight influence of schools and the discouragement of school teachers and missionaries. The committee recommended 1) reservations and education as a more humane and less costly policy than military control, 2) boarding schools remote from the native environment, and 3) the services of farmers, teachers and missionaries.[1]

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[1] Adams, op. cit., pp. 41-42.

The Appropriation Act of March 3, 1871, making Federal policies a matter of legislation, provided for termination of treaty making with Indian tribes, while at the same time denying to them the right to free choice of counsel for the redress of injuries.[2]

The rapid settlement and development of the territory west of the Mississippi necessitated legislation for acquisition of these lands and resources from the Indians.[3] As early as 1851, Commissioner Lea wrote:

> I therefore leave the subject for the present, remarking, only, that any plan for the civilization of our Indians will, in my judgment be fatally defective, if it does not provide, in the most efficient manner, first, for their concentration; secondly, for their domestication; and, thirdly, for their ultimate incorporation into the great body of our citizen population.[4]

The recommendation that the Indians be concentrated was actualized by reducing the size of the Indian reservations. The domestication policy had been a part of the goal of the BIA from the beginning. The incorporation of the Indians into the citizenry, however, marked a new departure from the theory and practice of removal and segregation.[5]

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[1] Ibid., pp. 44-45.

[2] Horne, op. cit., pp. 114-115.

[3] Ibid., pp. 116-117.

[4] Luke Lea, Commissioner. Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1851, p. 12.

[5] Cohen, op. cit., p. 14.

In his report for 1857, Commissioner Denver recommended that:

> Their reservations should be restricted so as to contain only sufficient land to afford them a comfortable support by actual cultivation, and should be properly divided and assigned to them, with the obligation to remain upon and cultivate the same.[1]

This was a strong enough endorsement for a policy of using force, if need be, to cause the Indians to change their way of life from hunting and gathering to farming.

In the report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs of 1870, Commissioner Parker noted that:

> The policy of giving to every Indian a home that he can call his own is a wise one, as it induces a strong incentive to him to labor and make every effort in his power to better his condition. By the adoption, generally, of this plan on the part of the government, the Indians would be more rapidly advanced in civilization than they would if the policy of allowing them to hold their land in common were continued.[2]

In his report of 1873, Commissioner Edward Smith stated:

> A fundamental difference between barbarians and a civilized people is the difference between a herd and an individual.... The starting-point of individualism for an Indian is the personal possession of his portion of the reservation.[3]

The problem of Indian rights and the red man's role in the future of the United States was of great concern during this period as it was becoming apparent that the hunting grounds were rapidly being destroyed and the means of Indian subsistence would have to undergo a drastic change.

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[1] James W. Denver, Commissioner. Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1857, p. 4.

[2] Ely S. Parker, Commissioner. Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1870, p. 9.

[3] Edward P. Smith, Commissioner. Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1873, p. 4.

The question was how? The solution of Congress was to pass the Dawes Act (The General Allotment Act) on February 8, 1887, which included the following provisions:

> 1) A grant of 160 acres of land to each head of the family and 80 acres to each person who was single and over eighteen years of age and each orphan under eighteen, and 40 acres to each other single person under eighteen;
>
> 2) A patent fee was to be issued to every allottee but was to be held in trust by the government for 25 years;
>
> 3) A period of four years was allotted for the selection of the property after which the selection would be made by the Secretary of the Interior;
>
> 4) Citizenship would be conferred on any allottees and other Indians who would abandon their tribes and adopt the habits of civilized life.[1]

Cohen says that this bill had the endorsement of the Indian rights associations throughout the country and reflected the sentiment of most of the people. In summation, he declared:

> The supreme aim of the friends of the Indian was to substitute white civilization for his tribal culture, and they shrewdly sensed that the difference in the concepts of property was fundamental in the contrast between the two ways of life. That the white man's way was good and the Indian's way was bad, all agreed. So on the one hand, the allotment system was counted on to break up tribal life....On the other hand, the allotment system was to enable the Indian to acquire the benefits of civilization. The Indian agents of the period made no effort to conceal their disgust for tribal economy.[2]

The doubters questioned that ownership of private property would transform the red man, because of the fact that Indian life was bound up with the communal holding of land. On the other hand, supporters of the allotment policy felt that if every Indian owned his own piece of land, guaranteed by a patent from the government, and was restricted in his right to sell the same, he could enjoy a type of security superior to that provided by tribal possession. Powerful forces behind the allotment idea included the land-hungry western settlers and the railroad interests, who needed to increase their tonnage along the right of way. The Indians were persuaded that the allotted land, at least, would be theirs and they would never again be subject to removal; however, there was no apparent wide-spread demand for allotment from the Indians.[1]

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[1] Cohen, *op. cit.*, pp. 207-208.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 208.

The aim of allotment was based on a belief that Indians could be assimilated into the white rural population in a single generation if they were granted private property. Each individual was to receive his own allotment, which would average about 180 acres per family unit, and what land was left would be sold, the proceeds to be used to build up the farms of the Indians. The plan was not successful. The Indians were not technically prepared to manage farms at a time when subsistence farming was giving way to commercial farming. At the same time, a trend of decreasing Indian population was being reversed, resulting in fractionated ownership of property. What was meant to be a major measure of reform, promoted by humanitarians, amplified rather than remedied the problem.[2]

Indian Reorganization

The Dawes Act marked a sweeping change in the philosophy behind the treatment of Indians by the Federal government. It provided for the allotment of specific land acreage to individual Indians as a means of breaking down tribal structure and giving Indians an opportunity for a more civilized life. Its actual achievement was to diminish the Indian tribal economic base from 140 million acres to about 50 million acres, causing severe social disorganization of the Indian family. Only minor legislation was passed for the next two decades, embodying piecemeal development of earlier statutes including amendments to the Allotment Act, the development of a body of law governing Indian education, increased protection for individual Indian rights and clearing up of Indian depredation claims. These provisions improved administrative functions of a system which originally was designed to release the Indian from dependence on administrative authority but was actually operating in reverse.[1]

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[1] Ibid., pp. 208-210.

[2] Levine, op. cit., pp. 38-39.

After 1870 treaty-making with Indian tribes was terminated and replaced by negotiated agreements. Levine and Lurie summarized this period:

> It was the period from the 1870's to the 1920's during which the worst abuses occurred in regard to administration of Indian affairs. Most Indian people were denied the vote, had to obtain passes to leave the reservation and were prohibited from practicing their own religions, sometimes by force. Leadership and management of community affairs smacking of traditional forms and functions were either discouraged or ignored as proper representations of community interest. Children were dragooned off to boarding schools where they were severely punished if they were caught speaking their own languages. While these things all happened, shortage and rapid turn-over of Bureau personnel, administrative apathy and occasional enlightenment at the local administrative level meant that the regulations were not always rigorously enforced. And the Indian societies themselves took a hand in playing off administrators, missionaries and other whites against each other to keep them busy while Indian people held the line in their determination to remain Indian. The

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[1] Horne, op. cit., pp. 118-122.

> ubiquity of factionalism in Indian societies which is so regularly deplored by those people, Indian and white, who are sincerely interested in helping Indian people make a better life, may actually have acted as an important mechanism of social and cultural survival for Indian groups. No outsider could gain total dominance for his programs aimed in one way or another at reducing Indian distinctiveness.[1]

The Statutes at Large lists the Act of June 2, 1924, as an act to authorize the Secretary of the Interior to issue certificates of citizenship to the Indians. This completed a process whereby various classes of Indians had successively been granted the status of citizenship. It remained for the decade of the 1930's, however, for the sweeping changes to occur in Indian legislation.

The Meriam Report, published in 1928, was a survey of social and economic conditions of the American Indian, and led to one of the most creative periods in Indian affairs. Its major findings were: that 1) Indians were excluded from management of their own affairs, and 2) Indians were receiving a poor quality of services (especially health and education) from public officials who were supposed to be serving their needs. The impact of this report influenced the passage of the Acts of 1934 under President Roosevelt and Commissioner John Collier.[2]

The Wheeler-Howard Act (Indian Reorganization Act) of June 18, 1934, was equally as sweeping as was the Dawes Act of 1887. Its purposes as stated by Senator Wheeler were:

> 1) To stop the alienation, through action by the Government or the Indian of such lands belonging to ward Indians, as are needed for the present and future support of these Indians.

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[1] Levine, op. cit., p. 38.

[2] Ralph Yarborough, Chairman. Indian Education: A National Tragedy--A National Challenge, 1969 report of the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, United States Senate. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1969, pp. 12-13.

2) To provide for the acquisition, through purchase, of land for Indians, now landless, who are anxious and fitted to make a living on such land.

3) To stabilize the tribal organization of Indian tribes by vesting such tribal organizations with real, though limited, authority, and by prescribing conditions which must be met by such tribal organizations.

4) To permit Indian tribes to equip themselves with the devices of modern business organization, through forming themselves into business corporations.

5) To establish a system of financial credit for Indians.

6) To supply Indians with the means for collegiate and technical training in the best schools.

7) To open the way for qualified Indians to hold positions in the Federal Indian Service.[1]

The Wheeler-Howard Act was an attempt to repair the damage of the allotment era. The government was now determined to recognize the importance of Indian communal life as an agency for preserving and encouraging social controls and values which would permit the Indians to pick and choose innovations to their culture by their own volition. The initiative was transferred from the BIA to the tribes themselves. It had been in operation for only seven years when World War II broke out. Many of the ablest leaders, both Indian and members of the BIA, were called into the service, resulting in very little advancement and possibly some regression in its application. There were also instances in which the Act itself needed revision if its purposes were to be fulfilled. The Indians would need more land, education, health, guidance, and a better consolidation of holdings owned by several heirs. The shortcomings of the Indian Reorganization Act probably stemmed from:

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[1] Horne, op. cit., p. 129.

1) the failure of administrators to understand how to motivate the Indians to take full advantage of its benefits, 2) the skepticism of superintendents about the ability of the Indians to take care of themselves, and 3) problems arising out of credit facilities, land purchase, and administration. However, on the whole, it was a move in the right direction.[1]

During the treaty period there was room for Indian movement and resettlement further west, and the tribes were treated as independent nations, allowing their members the individual freedom to retain their own culture or adopt white man's ways. The passage of the Dawes Act, a reversal of this policy, was an attempt to suppress Indian culture. Thereafter, the Indian was treated as a virtual prisoner, requiring all decisions to be made in Washington, placing the children in the classrooms even against their will, substituting white middle-class value systems for the tribal ways. The school was seen as the primary tool of assimilation.[2] With the passage of the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934, there was another change of policy, one which allowed the Indian a high degree of self-rule. The goal was still assimilation, but methods of achieving it were changing.

Also changing were definitions of assimilation itself. In the Report of the Commission of the Rights, Liberties, and Responsibilities of the American Indian, Brophy and Aberle[3] noted that the Bureau of

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[1] William A. Brophy and Sophie D. Aberle. The Indian America's Unfinished Business, Report of the Commission on the Rights, Liberties, and Responsibilities of the American Indian. Norman, Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press, 1966, pp. 20-22.

[2] Yarborough, op. cit., pp. 9-13.

[3] Brophy, op. cit., pp. 9-11.

Indian Affairs at one time considered an Indian assimilated if he wore civilian dress. But when William Zimmerman, Jr. was Assistant Commissioner of Indian Affairs, he determined assimilation in terms of white blood, literacy, business ability, acceptance of non-Indian institutions, and acceptance of tribesmen by whites. These criteria were not adequate as they did not account for the fact that a person may adopt the outward ways of another culture without changing his basic emotions. In summation:

> The Committee on Indian Affairs to the Commission on Organization of the Executive Branch of the Government recognized that assimilation has failed if shedding the old culture takes the joy out of life, produces a feeling of inferiority, and destroys the drive and purpose of the Indians.[1]

TERMINATION

The Indian Claims Commission was established on August 13, 1946, making Indians eligible to file suits against the government arising from claims in law or equity, tort, or based on fraud, duress, unconscionable consideration, mutual or unilateral mistakes, the taking of lands without payment of agreed compensation, and fair and honorable dealings not recognized by existing rules of law or equity. The road was now open for peaceful settlement concerning claims based on the "taking" of lands without agreed compensation and for the withdrawal of Federal trust over reservations and individuals. By January, 1961, 128 petitions had been adjudicated with awards totaling more than thirty-seven million dollars, but after 1960, the pace quickened.[2] The prospect of awards of large amounts of money had served to keep many Indians on the reservations. Now that the awards were being processed, the method of distribution became a central issue. On the one hand, since these moneys could be used for tribal investment and the experience gained by the tribes in money matters would elevate the status of the tribal government in those reservations which had large land holdings, the economic base would be enlarged; but, on the other hand, many of the tribal members wanted the moneys to be dispursed on a "pro-rate" basis. Those Indians who did not live on the reservation had little to gain from tribal investment and tended to favor negating any proposition which would withold their share of the dispursements.[1]

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[1] Brophy, op. cit., pp. 9-10.

[2] Levine, op. cit., pp. 62-63.

Termination had been a long term objective of the Federal government and was the force behind those policies having assimilation as the ultimate solution. Traditionally, the ends remained the same, but the means were constantly shifting. The legislative base for the termination policy was laid in 1953 with the passage of Public Law 280, transferring Federal jurisdiction over law and order on Indian reservations to individual states, and House Concurrent Resolution 108, calling for the end of Federal services to Indians.[2]

The word "termination" has traditionally remained without definite meaning and may signify any one or all of the following:

> A relaxation of unnecessary Federal supervision over the government and business of Indian tribes and less control over the leasing and use of trust allotments of individuals.

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[1] Ibid.

[2] Yarborough, op. cit., pp. 13-14.

> The rapid destruction of a tribal government that has operated for generations, thereby uprooting complex Federal, tribal and state relationships which are defined in hundreds of treaties, statutes, and court decisions.
>
> The forced sale of a substantial part of the tribal land and the dissolution of the trust on all allotments of members of terminated tribes.
>
> The subjecting of all tribal and trust-allotted land to state taxation regardless of the ability of the Indians to pay.
>
> The abandonment by the United States of education, medical and hospital treatment, road building, and other functions, and of technical and administrative services and guidance to Indians in the management of their own affairs, without giving any assurance that the necessary services will be available from other sources as they are to other citizens.
>
> A violation of the expressed or implied obligations of treaties and agreements between the United States and a tribe for exemption from taxation, self-government, and performance of Federal services without these changes having had the unqualified consent of the tribe.[1]

The termination laws enacted since 1954 resulted in or were capable of effecting all of these consequences. The Indians, however, were citizens by Federal law and had all the rights possessed by their white neighbors; they were subject to no greater Federal control than any other citizens; they paid state and Federal taxes unless specifically exempted by treaty agreement or statute and most of the exemptions applied only to real estate or income from trust property; and the restrictions, by and large, had resulted from covenants made by the Indians with the United States in the form of treaties, agreements, statutes, and policies designed to protect them from losing their land and to assure the right of self-government, the inalienability and immunity from taxes of their land, and the services which the United States provided.[1]

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[1] Ralph Yarborough, Chairman, Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, United States Senate. The Education of American Indians, The Organization Question, IV (Washington: Government Printing Office, November, 1969), pp. 496-497.

The Indian, whether or not he sensed his difficulties, did not find his interests coinciding with termination and thus usually did not willingly want to substitute State control for Federal. Since 1950, the major controversy has been over the program calling for prompt termination of tribes with or without the consent of their members. The subcommittee report of the 91st Congress on Indian Education made the following summary of the Klamath Termination Act (P.L. 587, 83rd Congress):

> The law and its amendments, taken together, furnish an example (not the only one in Indian history) of ill-considered and unsuccessful attempts to deal (in an all-inclusive measure) with Indians irrespective of their special way of life, their location, and property holdings. It also demonstrates that no termination of tribes, especially those with large properties, should ever be deemed merely an Indian problem. It is inevitably a national problem, one upon the solution of which depends the welfare of people both near and far.
>
> In still another sense termination offers no pat answer to "the Indian problem," for the Indians themselves remain. They remain mostly where they were and as they were. For the government to act out of a sense of frustration and of haste to rid itself of the vexing questions involved in administering Indian affairs is bound to ensure failure. American policy, if it is to succeed, must aim at helping Indians to prepare themselves in advance of termination for self-reliant living in whatever is their prevailing social and economic framework. As this is accomplished tribe by tribe, termination will follow and follow from the Indian's own desire. Termination so conceived will be an act of statesmanship in the best American tradition.[2]

During the period of the 1950's emphasis was placed on education, and on the attainment of economic parity primarily through programs of off-reservation employment. Most of the program planning was identified with termination.[1]

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[1] *Ibid.*, p. 496.

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 496-501.

The 1961 Interior Department Task Force recommended that emphasis be placed on developmental programs designed to assist tribal groups to advance socially, economically, and politically to the point where special services are no longer required; and, further, that termination should not be emphasized. The 90th Congress in 1968 modified the House Concurrent Resolution No. 108 of the 83rd Congress and included a consent provision regarding the removal of Federal supervision.[2]

LAWS AND ACTS CONCERNING INDIAN EDUCATION SINCE 1877

1) The Dawes Act of 1877 providing for Indian allotments also provided for moneys accruing from the sale of Indian cessions to be used to pay the cost of taking Indian children out of their homes and placing them in Federal boarding school.

2) The Act of June 7, 1897, banned appropriations for operations of sectarian schools under certain conditions; the Act of March 2, 1917, banned all appropriations to sectarian schools; and the Act of March 30, 1968, allowed Federal support for the education of Indian students in sectarian institutions of higher education.

3) The Act of May 25, 1918, provided that Federal funds may not be used for the support of education of Indian children who have less than one-fourth Indian blood.

4) The Snyder Act of November 2, 1921, laid the present basis for Federal support of education including the majority of the programs currently being carried out by the BIA Branch of Education.

5) The Citizenship Act of June 2, 1924, involved the responsibility of the States for the education of Indians as citizens. It entitled them to receive the same education as other residents of a state.

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[1] *Ibid.*, p. 654.

[2] *Ibid.*

6) The Johnson-O'Malley Act of April 16, 1934, authorized the Federal government to enter into contracts with States or territories for education, medical attention, and social welfare of Indians. It was extended to include colleges and universities by Public Law number 74-634 in 1936. With the enactment of the 1958 amendments, this program allowed payments to become supplemental so that they could be used whenever the Bureau of Indian Affairs considered that the needs of Indian children were not being met under other Federal programs. The requirement for annual reports to Congress was repealed by Public Law 86-533 on June 29, 1960.

7) The Federal Impacted Areas Act of September 15, 1950, authorized financial assistance for construction by local agencies of certain minimum school facilities. The Act included Indian land within the definition of Federal property, making Indian children eligible under its provisions.. The Amendment of August 8, 1953, added a new Title IV authorizing aid for areas burdened with large numbers of children residing on Federal property which included Indian children who could not be aided in areas where substantial increase of enrollment had not occurred since 1959.

8) Public Law 81-874, passed on September 30, 1950, authorized financial assistance for school maintenance and construction for school districts on which Federal activities had placed a financial burden. It excluded children receiving payments under Johnson-O'Malley funds, but in Amendments passed in 1958 and 1967, these provisions were removed.

9) The Act of June 4, 1953, authorized the transfer of Federal interests in land and improvements, which were used for school purposes, to State and local governments. An Amendment of March 16, 1962, increased the maximum acreage which may be transferred from 20 acres to 50 acres.

10) The Adult Vocational Training Act of August 3, 1956, authorized the BIA to provide a program which would help the Indians obtain reasonable and satisfactory employment. This is the Act under which vocational training and relocation programs were funded.

11) The Elementary and Secondary Education Act of April 11, 1965, as amended through 1968, contained many provisions which applied to Indians. Title I provided for financial assistance to low income families and as amended in 1966, applied to Indians. Title II provided for grants for libraries, textbooks and other printed and published instructional material. Title III provided grants for the establishment or expansion of planning or innovative educational programs. Title VI provided for increased educational opportunities for handicapped children and

in the 1967 amendment, included Indian children. Title VII provided for expansion of imaginative elementary and secondary school programs designed to meet the needs of children with limited English speaking ability.

12) The Economic Opportunity Act of August 20, 1964, focused on pre-school children to provide health, nutritional, educational, social, and other services necessary to assist them to attain their full potential. Headstart was added by the November 8, 1966, Amendment and minor changes were made on December 27, 1967. The Economic Opportunity Act of August 20, 1967, provided for VISTA Program under Title VIII. VISTA volunteers are currently being assigned to work on some reservations to help meet health, education, welfare, and related needs of the Indians.[1]

The current trend to include the Indians in programs which were originally designed to help the general population has resulted in many new governmental agencies coming into contact with the tribes, and at the same time, relieving the BIA of the sole responsibility for tribal welfare. The original goal, calling for assimilation of the Indians into the white culture has remained the same, but the means have changed. Whether the means for eventual assimilation currently being put in effect will be successful, only time will tell. Certainly, the record to date has not been encouraging.

SUMMARY

The nations who discovered and colonized the New World generally viewed the natives and their lands as resources to be exploited. This traditional pattern was adopted by the Colonists who, basically, were interested in land for their settlers rather than Indian assimilation.

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[1] Ralph Yarborough, Chairman. The Education of American Indians, A Compilation of Statutes, 1969 report of the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, U. S. Senate. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1969, pp. 1-24.

The treaty system was in operation until 1871 after which Federal policies were a matter of legislation.

While the tribal organizations were strong, there was considerable autonomy for the individual Indian to pick or choose any of the aspects of the colonial culture which he might want to adopt. The Trade and Intercourse Act marked a milestone in attempts to allow freedom for the individual and his tribe, but this was purchased at the price of ceding land. Between 1778 and 1871, when the last treaty was signed, Indian tribes ceded almost a billion acres to the United States. In return, the Indians retained inalienable and tax-exempt lands for themselves, along with government pledges to provide public services such as education, medical care, technical and agricultural training.[1]

The Allotment Act (Dawes Act) of 1887, was symbolic of the worst aspects of Federal Indian policy. During the 46 years it was in effect, the Indian land base was reduced from 140 million acres to 50 million of the least desirable land. Individual autonomy was systematically destroyed, and the Indian was driven into depths of poverty from which he never recovered.[2]

The Meriam Report, published in 1928, noted that the Indians were excluded from management of their own affairs and that they were receiving a poor quality of services from public officials. (These findings are valid today, according to the Report of the Yarborough Committee of 1969.)[3] The findings of the Meriam Report culminated in the Indian

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[1] Yarborough, op. cit., p. 11.

[2] Ibid., p. 9.

[3] Ibid., p. 13.

Reorganization Act of 1934, laying the groundwork for a more autonomous tribal government.

Following World War II, another reversal of policy was seen in the withdrawal program of 1947 and 1950, as well as the adoption of House Concurrent Resolution No. 108, passed by Congress on August 1, 1953. Termination was speeded up with disastrous consequences to the tribes who were affected.

During the 1960's, the emphasis changed from termination to developmental programs designed to assist tribal groups to advance socially, economically, and politically, with the view of becoming self-sufficient. Termination was not to be imposed without the direct consent of the Indians.

The 91st Congress authorized an investigation on Indian education. They reported that the consequences of our failure to provide an effective education for the American Indian has condemned him to a life of poverty and despair.[1] They found low quality in virtually every aspect of schooling available to Indian children.[2]

CONCLUSION

In spite of nearly four hundred years of contact between the European and the native American Indian, there is an immense lag in their stages of development. Although assimilation has been the ultimate goal of the Federal government for the Indian, and although the United States has had an excellent record of enculturating minority groups, its record with the Indian has been far from satisfactory. Orfield sums up the situation by stating:

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[1] Yarborough, op. cit., pp. X.

[2] Ibid., p. XII.

> From the beginning there has been a deep ambivalence in the attitude of the American people toward the Indians. Greed and injustice have been answered with reforming zeal and used clothing collections. The stereotype of the lazy, drunken Indian is balanced by a romantic notion of the ancient Indian nations and by a vague feeling of national guilt. Too often, however, it has been those living near the tribes and dealing with them who have victimized the Indian people. The well-meaning reformers, on the other hand, having only passing contact with the Indians, frequently proposed naive and simple solutions to many-sided problems. The most popular goal of such reforms has been rapid assimilation, giving the Indians a chance to succeed, like everybody else. The United States has successfully integrated many other minorities. Surely, it is argued, if the Indians were given incentive and some initial assistance, they would adopt the superior values of white culture. This theme recurs again and again in discussions of U. S. Indian policy.[1]

The Yarborough Committee recommended sixty changes in Indian policies and procedures. How extensive these changes will eventually become is up to Congress. One observation is clear, however: the treatment of the Indian in the United States, whether by the government or by individuals or groups has been

> . . . a national tragedy and a national disgrace. . .that the 'first American' has become the 'last American' in terms of opportunity for employment, education, a decent income, and the chance for a full and rewarding life.[2]

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[1] Yarborough. The Organizational Question, op. cit., p. 741.

[2] Yarborough. Indian Education: A National Tragedy--A National Challenge, op. cit., p. X.

The origins and early history of the Mandan, Hidatsa (Gros Ventres) and Arikara Indians, who today constitute the Three Affiliated Tribes of the Fort Berthold Indian Reservation, will be examined in the third chapter.

CHAPTER III

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF THE MANDAN, HIDATSA, AND ARIKARA

PREHISTORIC ORIGINS

Little is known concerning the prehistoric origins of the Three Tribes. Linguistically, the Mandan and Hidatsa tribes are Siouan, while the Arikara are Caddoan. The Mandans were probably the first of the three to settle in the Missouri valley, migrating from the vicinity of Ohio sometime during the fifteenth century, followed by the Hidatsa about a century later.[1] The Arikara (Ricara, Ree), together with the Pawnee, migrated northward from the Red River area of Louisiana and separated from their kindred family while living in what is now known as Nebraska, at some time previous to the commencement of the fur trade along the upper Missouri. The Rees then moved northward along the Missouri River, entering the region of the present South Dakota in the seventeenth century.[2]

Mandan

The Mandan group probably migrated up the Missouri from a point at least as far south as southern South Dakota, preceding the Arikara in their northward migration along the Missouri River. Lewis and Clark found the Mandans living near the mouth of the Knife River when they wintered there in 1804.[1]

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[1] G. F. Will and H. J. Spinden. The Mandans. Cambridge: Peabody Museum of American Archaeology and Ethnology, Harvard University, 1906, pp. 97-98.

[2] David Ives Bushnell. Villages of the Algonquian, Siouan, and Caddoan Tribes West of the Mississippi. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1922, pp. 167-168.

Hidatsa (Gros Ventres)

According to Mathews, Hidatsa legends indicate that several tribes moved from the vicinity of Devils Lake, North Dakota in the 1600's. The Crows were affiliated with them at the time of the migration but moved farther to the south and west toward the end of the seventeenth century.[2] In 1845 a large group of Hidatsa moved from the mouth of the Knife River to establish a new village 60 miles upstream. During the next few years, the other members of the Hidatsa tribes and the surviving Mandans joined the new settlement, followed by the Arikara in 1862.[3]

Arikara

By the latter part of the seventeenth century, the Arikara were located on the Missouri River near what is now Pierre, South Dakota. On at least two occasions they migrated to the vicinity of the Mandan and Hidatsa villages, in 1794,[4] and in 1797.[5]

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[1] Charles E. Deland. "The Mandan Indians," in South Dakota Historical Collections, IV (Sioux Falls, S. Dak.: State Historical Society, 1908), pp. 288-295.

[2] Washington Mathews. Ethnography and Philology of the Hidatsa Indians. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1877, pp. 39-40.

[3] Bushnell, op. cit., p. 147.

[4] A. P. Nasatir. Before Lewis and Clark, I (St. Louis: St. Louis Historical Documents Foundation, 1952), pp. 299, 307.

[5] Paul Allen, Esquire. History of the Expedition Under the Command of Captains Lewis and Clark, I (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1842), p. 112.

HISTORICAL PERIOD

The first recorded information on the Mandan and Hidatsa tribes was the result of a visit by a group of French fur traders led by La Verendrye, who was seeking a water passage to the Pacific Ocean. They arrived at a place which they called "Mantannes" village on November 28, 1738. It is now believed by many scholars that the "Mantannes" referred to in his journal were in fact the Hidatsa (Gros Ventres or Minnetarees) and that the village he visited was located about sixteen miles east and north of the present site of New Town.[1]

La Verendrye found the Hidatsa living in earth lodges, their villages strongly palisaded, caches filled with corn and other food supplies and a plentiful supply of buffalo robes and bear skins. They were in their most powerful and prosperous state.[2]

The time of the first contact between the Arikara and the European culture is not as clearly documented. Nasatir made reference to a Frenchman who had visited the "Ricaras" in 1734.[3] The third Verendrye expedition to the Mandan and Hidatsa tribes, 1742-1743, headed by Louis Joseph (La Verendrye's two sons were with the expedition) visited the Arikara villages which were then located near what is now Pierre, South Dakota.[4] Like the Mandan and Hidatsa, the Arikara lived in earth lodges, practiced farming, and depended upon the buffalo and other wild game for their meat. They, also, stored food in caches, often using this storehouse of food for barter. When Lewis and Clark visited them, they noted that the Arikara did not use spirituous liquors; lived in villages; and cultivated maize or Indian corn, beans, pumpkins, watermelons, squash, and a species of tobacco.[1]

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[1] Nellis Maynard Crouse. *La Verendrye, Furtrader and Explorer*. Ithica: Cornell University Press, 1956, pp. 145-156, 220-226.

[2] Bushnell, *Op. Cit*., p. 123. Henry E. Haxo, translator. "The Journal of La Verendrye, 1738-39." *North Dakota Historical Quarterly*, VIII, No. 4 (Bismarck, N. Dak.: State Historical Society, July, 1941), pp. 230-271.

[3] Nasatir, *op. cit*., p. 28.

[4] Martin Kavanagh. *La Verendrye, His Life and Times*. Brandon, Manitoba: M. Kavanagh, 1967, pp. 173-79.

Since the Sioux (Dakota) Indians were the most powerful and influential group surrounding the Three Tribes, their history was reviewed. The Sioux formerly lived in semi-permanent villages of bark houses located in the woodlands of Minnesota.[2] By 1700, some of the tribes had migrated to the west and south, penetrating as far as the upper Platte River, and, by 1750, had crossed the Missouri River in their westward travel across the plains.[3] Certain material elements of the white culture, notably the horse and such articles of trade as steel knives, guns, and kettles were being introduced by fur traders and were being accepted by the Indians of the plains during this period,[4] but with varying impacts on the mode of life of the different Indian nations. The Sioux nations became generally nomadic, roaming the prairies for products such as meat (buffalo) for food and hides for fur trade. On the other hand, the Mandan, Hidatsa, and Arikara remained in their villages where they continued to engage in agriculture and trade. The Sioux were early enemies of the Mandan, Hidatsa, and Arikara,[1] but truces were periodically arranged between them to facilitate the bartering.[2]

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[1] Allen, op. cit., pp. 109-114.

[2] Raymond F. Schulenberg. Indians of North Dakota. Bismarck: State Historical Society of North Dakota, 1956, pp. 22-23.

[3] J. M. Gillette. "The Advent of the American Indian Into North Dakota," North Dakota Historical Quarterly, VI, No. 3 (Bismarck: State Historical Society), April, 1932, p. 218.

[4] Scudder Mekeel. "A Short History of the Teton-Dakota," North Dakota Historical Quarterly, X, No. 3 (Bismarck, N. Dak.: State Historical Society), July, 1943, p. 139.

During the first half of the eighteenth century, the Arikara lived in villages along the Missouri River near what is now Pierre, South Dakota, and were surrounded by Sioux tribes on the east, south, and west, and the Mandans on the north. A native commerce between the Arikara and the Sioux gradually evolved in which both groups prospered.[3] The arrival of the fur trader disrupted this economic system when traders bartered directly with the various Sioux tribes. The nomadic tribes were able to furnish the traders with a superior quality and number of furs in exchange for guns, ammunition, and other supplies.[4]

After the mid-eighteenth Century, the situation became a survival problem for the Arikara whose villages were often raided by the better armed Sioux who kept the "Rees" in a state of economic slavery, named their own price in trading, and enforced their demands by virtue of greater numbers, mobility, and better arms.[5] Truteau, in 1796, described an attack by the Sioux on the "Ricaras" causing them to abandon their village during the night.[1] Because of their need to obtain the western products, the Arikara attempted to force the traders to exchange goods with them, an act which virtually blocked boat traffic along the Missouri River. Evans, in June, 1796, described a situation in which the "Ricaras" would not permit him to pass their village and trade with those nations residing above them.[2]

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[1] Schulenberg, op. cit., p. 22.

[2] Ibid., p. 47.

[3] Nasatir, op. cit., p. 310.

[4] Ibid., p. 296.

[5] Schulenberg, op. cit., p. 46-47.

The hostility displayed by the Arikara toward the white man was generated largely by intrigues of the fur traders, particularly those working for the Northwest Fur Company. This antagonism found expression in an attack on some of Northwest's boats in 1823. An indication of the support provided the fur traders of this period by the United States Government can be seen in the action of the War Department which sent an expedition, under Colonel Leavenworth, aided by 600 "friendly" Dakotas (The Dakotas were friendly to the traders but were enemies of the Arikara) from Council Bluffs, Iowa, forcibly inducing the Arikara to sue for peace.[3]

In the fall of 1832, the Arikara moved to the Loup River in Nebraska, remained there for three winters, and returned to their old villages on the Missouri in 1835.[4] Following the smallpox epidemic of 1837, the Arikara migrated to one of the abandoned Mandan villages below Fort Clark.[5]

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[1] Nasatir, op. cit., p. 527.

[2] Ibid., pp. 495-496.

[3] Charles E. DeLand. "The Aborigines of South Dakota," in South Dakota Historical Collections, III (Aberdeen, S. Dak.: State Historical Society, 1906), p. 284.

[4] Elmer E. Meleen, Supervisor. Arikara Indians of South Dakota. Vermillion: University of South Dakota, 1941, p. 7.

[5] Bushnell, op. cit., p. 176.

Population Data

The Mandan villages were estimated to have at least 15,000 people in 1738. (The population data presented in this chapter was based on estimates since an actual head count was never done.)[1] Evidence indicated that there were many smallpox epidemics raging through the Indian tribes during the mid and late eighteenth century, probably originating with the Spanish in the south and working northward. Truteau stated that there were three epidemics starting about the year 1772, the second in 1777-78, and the third in 1780-81.[2] The disease struck the plains area again in 1801, doing its greatest damage in the southern area, but the epidemic of 1837-38 which began among the Mandan at Fort Clark almost wiped them out, judging by the fact that only 53 males over 15 years of age survived.[3] They maintained their individuality as a tribe and increased their numbers by the use of stringent marriage laws, allowing their women to marry into other bands or tribes only after the prospective husband renounced his previous tribal relations in favor of joining them and agreeing that the children should talk the Mandan language and be reared in their customs and beliefs.[4] Truteau, in 1795, summarized the historical population question among the Arikara:

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[1] Will and Spinden, *op. cit.*, p. 99.

[2] George E. Hyde. "The Mystery of the Arikaras," *North Dakota History*, XVIII, No. 4 (Bismarck, N. Dak.: State Historical Society, January 1952), pp. 33-34.

[3] C. L. Hall. "Names of the Survivors of the Smallpox Scourge of 1837," *Collections of the State Historical Society of North Dakota*, I (Bismarck, N. Dak.: State Historical Society, 1906), pp. 436-39.

[4] DeLand, *op. cit.*, p. 310.

> In ancient times the Ricara nation was very large; it counted thirty two populous villages, now depopulated and almost entirely destroyed by the small pox which broke out among them at three different times. A few families only, from each of the villages, escaped; these united and formed the two villages now here, which are situated about half of a mile apart on the same land occupied by their ancestors....This nation, formerly so numerous, and which, according to their reports, could turn out four thousand warriors, is now reduced to about five hundred fighting men.[1]

On November 19, 1805, Pierre Chouteau, a fur trader with the American Fur Company, wrote a letter to the Secretary of War, Dearborn, in which he estimated the population of the Mandan as being 400, the Gros Ventres as 700, and the Arikara as 500.[2] Assuming that Chouteau based his figures on the number of warriors each tribe could turn out, both men's estimates on the Arikara were surprisingly similar, and added reliability to Chouteau's figures on the Mandan and Hidatsa.

Cholera swept the central plains in 1849 followed by another epidemic of smallpox in 1870-71.[3] Ethnologist James Mooney estimated that between 1780 and 1907, the Arikara were reduced from 3,000 to 389, the Hidatsa were reduced from 2,500 to 468, and the Mandan were reduced from 3,600 to 263.[4]

FUR TRADER PERIOD

It is possible to be in contact with people in alien cultures without ever experiencing anything except one's own normal routine.

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[1] Nasatir, op. cit., p. 299.

[2] Ibid., p. 760.

[3] Schulenberg, op. cit., p. 93.

[4] Ibid., p. 94.

Careful expenditures of money can insulate a person from the inconveniences of an unfamiliar environment. This same effect can be produced by a mental state of mind which closes out of the consciousness all things which do not fit one's practices of standards learned in a more primitive state (ethnocentrism), and which blocks any chance of learning about other ways of life or gaining another's perspective on his own culture.

Culture, basically, is a system of relationships with other people which has been internalized to the point where a stimulus elicits a preset response. This response, which acts like a second nature, is a result of social learning, but the beliefs and expectations associated with any particular pattern of relationships (shared culture) may be at variance with the patterned relationships of people whose responses to any particular stimulus are different.

If a person finds himself in a situation wherein his learned responses are not appropriate to the stimulus situation, such as happens from a direct exposure to an alien society, he tends to develop a disturbing feeling of disorientation and helplessness, called "culture shock." This may be experienced in varying degrees of intensity, and be identified by the inability to make any sense out of the behavior of others or to predict what their action will be. Whenever representatives of two different cultures are in a situation of interaction, some degree of culture shock is present.[1]

Assimilation, which means adopting the dominant group's values, comes only at a great cost to the minority group; some degree of culture shock is experienced. The fur trader period marked the beginning of this situation for the Fort Berthold people.

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[1] Philip K. Bock. Culture Shock. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1970, pp. IX-XI.

According to Schulenberg, trade goods of European origin were being used by the Hidatsa even as far back as the time of Verendrye's visit in 1738, and these goods were modifying their way of life. The Indian gradually became a producer and consumer in the white man's economic system and as time passed, the dependency relationship increased.[1]

Will and Hecker summarized the situation of the Three Tribes in the following quotation:

> The white man was indirectly responsible for the summary destruction of a people who were on the road of progress in culture and the arts which might have culminated in another high native civilization here in our northern plains, had it been allowed to develop naturally over another hundred years or so.
>
> It is evident that the Mandans had solved to good purpose most of the problems connected with life on the Great Plains and were happily and prosperously living in the area. Not only were the problems of subsistence and the necessities of life well solved, but there was obviously sufficient leisure time left for the perfecting of the other arts which they knew and the sociological and religious organization of the population.[2]

George F. Will and Thad C. Hecker studied the pottery of the Three Tribes and concluded that the decadence of their ceramic types was due to the acquisition of metal cooking pots and that the degree of decadence was in direct proportion to the number of metal pots obtained. They further stated:

> The degree of decline was not equal in the area and varied between villages as the condition of the pottery in each village was governed by the rapidity with which the clay cooking pots were replaced by metal pots. Beginning about 1750, the decline of the Mandan ceramics was fairly gradual until about 1825. The Arikara and Hidatsa having better trade advantages showed an equal degree of decadence about 25 years earlier. After 1825 the ceramics of the three tribes was reduced

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[1] Schulenberg, Op. Cit., pp. 81-82.

[2] George F. Will and Thad C. Hecker. "Upper Missouri River Valley Aboriginal Culture in North Dakota," North Dakota Historical Quarterly, XI(Bismarck, N. Dak.: State Historical Society, June-Oct., 1944), p. 7.

to coarse pots used as storage containers, unfit for cooking. Some pottery was still being made by the three tribes (Arikara, Mandan, Hidatsa) after their removal to the Fort Berthold Site (1850-55). This late pottery, poorly made and decorated, had lost its identity as to tribal culture and was of little value either for culinary use or as decorative accessories.[1]

Not all of the Indian's problems were directly due to the cultural clash with the whites. The pressures caused by white settlements in the east forced the eastern Indians to find new homes in the west, upsetting the former ecological balance between the western tribes who formerly occupied the land. Guns and ammunition were generally obtained by the eastern tribes through the fur traders, while horses became available by barter among the Indians themselves.[2] The combination of horses and guns had much to do with the way the Indian, who previously had lived in a semi-nomadic state in the eastern woodlands, adapted to the life of the hunter and food gatherer on the prairies. However, none of the Three Tribes chose the nomadic life, preferring to continue their agricultural pursuits in their traditional manner along the Missouri River. In doing this, they contributed to the economic balance of the region since the nomadic tribes could engage in trade with the agricultural tribes to their mutual benefit.[3]

The contacts between the Indians and the Europeans were firstly commercial, secondly political, thirdly religious, and lastly, social. It was only in later years that large numbers of Indians came into social contact with large numbers of non-Indians. This was seen by the fact that the first contact was with the traders, then governmental representatives, followed by the missionaries, and finally by settlers. It was not until 1876, one hundred and thirty six years after Verendrye first visited the Hidatsa that the first permanent Christian missionary, Charles L. Hall, was located among the Three Tribes,[1] followed by homesteaders approximately two decades later.

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[1] Ibid., pp. 69-70.

[2] Nasatir, op. cit., pp. 296-299.

[3] Mathews, op. cit., p. 27. Deland, op. cit., p. 616.

Truteau visited the upper Missouri several times in the late 1700's and following his visit in 1794, made several observations describing the nature of the tribes together with the result of early culture contact with the traders. He described the "Panis Ricaras" as having a rather gentle nature and that they respected and deferred to white men. Originally the white man was regarded as a divinity, but by the time of his visit, white men already were valued for the merchandise which they would bring, especially guns and ammunition.

Truteau felt that there was a negative reaction among Indians in direct proportion to the amount of intercourse carried on between them and the white man. Much of this was caused by the conduct of the white traders when they came to live with the Indians and they were a cause of quarrels between tribes, among the chiefs and their families, and between individual members of the tribes.[2]

Some of the causes for the disillusionment of the Indians with the white community were well described by Truteau. He also pointed out some of the changes which were being adopted by the Indians as a result of cultural diffusion.

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[1] Charles L. Hall. Papers in the N. Dak. State Historical Collection. Bismarck: North Dakota State Historical Society.

[2] Nasatir, op. cit., pp. 296-299.

Many of the early traders were very dedicated people who sought to do what was right by the aborigine occupants of the soil. On the other hand, large numbers of traders were unscrupulous, interested primarily in making a profit and in satisfying their own lustful desires. They had no particular concern for fair treatment of their customers. It is small wonder, then, that the Indian's former esteem for the white man often degenerated into a feeling of suspicion and hostility. Bushnell, after reviewing some of these conditions commented, "What great changes they were destined to undergo during the next hundred years."[1]

CONDITIONS LEADING UP TO THE LARAMIE TREATY--1837-1851

Sub-Agent, William N. Fulkerson submitted his annual report on the condition of the Upper Missouri Sub-Agency for the year ending September 30, 1837, in which he estimated the total population of the combined Big and Little Villages at 3,200, the Arikara at 3,000, and the Gros Ventres at 2,000.[2] Apparently this information had been gathered and the letter written prior to June, 1837, when passengers of the steamer Assiniboine brought smallpox to the Mandans resulting in their near extinction as previously reported. This letter summarized the conditions and mode of living among the Three Tribes prior to the migration of the Arikara from their South Dakota homes to the Mandan village, and this summation contained an excellent description of the situation in the early part of 1837, parts of which are quoted below:

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[1] Bushnell, op. cit., p. 123.

[2] W. N. Fulkerson, Sub-Agent on the Upper Missouri. Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1837, pp. 34-37. W. N. Fulkerson. Letter Written to the Bureau of Indian Affairs, Washington, D. C., Nov. 3, 1837. Washington: National Archives.

> There are no agency buildings, schools, mills, farmers, or mechani[illegible] within the bounds of my subagency.
>
> The Mandans, Arikarees, and Minatarees, are located on the south bank of the Missouri river, about 300 miles below the mouth of the Yellowstone. The Big and Little Mandan villages are beautifully situated immediately on the bank of the Missouri river, about five miles apart. At the Big village, the American Fur Company has a small fort for trading with tolerable buildings. The Gros Ventres (Minatarees) village is five miles above the Little Mandan village, and is about one mile from the Missouri river....The Mandans and Minatarees have very comfortable earth lodges; and in addition to the chase, they cultivate corn, beans, pumpkins and squashes, to a small extent, but in a very rude and imperfect manner. They have no enclosures, and no implements of industry, except a few hoes and squaw axes. They have some horses, which they use for riding only, and which require great care to prevent their being stolen by the neighboring tribes. They have no cattle, hogs, or sheep, nor domestic animals or fowls of any kind about them.
>
> The Arikarees talk of establishing a village similar to the Mandan villages on the south bank of the Missouri, about eighteen miles below the Big Mandan village. They make very fair promises and professions, as to their friendly feelings towards the whites, and their dispositions to maintain peaceable relations with the neighboring tribes, but no reliance can be placed in them.
>
> At the different trading posts and attached to the several companies trading within this sub-agency, several hundred white men are constantly employed though thinly scattered over a vast extent of country; their lives and property depend much upon the peaceable disposition of the Indians.
>
> The Mandans have suffered serious loss and inconvenience from the hostility and treachery of the surrounding tribes during the past year. About sixty of their choice warriors have fallen victims to the tomahawk and scalping knife. They have been confined to their villages for fear of the roaming tribes of the prairies. [This could account for the fact that the Mandans were hit the hardest of the three tribes by the smallpox epidemic--author's note.] They have been thus prevented from obtaining meat for subsistence, and the buffalo robes for clothing or for sale; and had it not been for their scanty crops of corn, they would have been reduced to extreme starvation. They have been considerably strengthened by the arrival of the Arikarees, who reside now in their villages, but the union of these tribes will not continue.
>
> The Gros Ventres are, in all respects, in the same unfortunate condition with the Mandans.
>
> Deadly hostilities are continually kept up between the Sioux and

the Mandans and Minatarees. Many of the Yanktona Sioux were skulking about the villages, during the last winter and spring, seeking to satiate their vengeance on the blood of their enemies; several of them were killed by the Mandans and Minatarees. Whilst thus engaged, no quarters were shown by either party.[1]

In the following year, 1838, a new agent, Joshua Pilcher was appointed for the Upper Missouri Agency. His report included an estimate of the damage to the members of the Three Tribes caused by the smallpox scourge:

> One of these tribes (the Mandans) have been so diminished by the smallpox that they will cease to exist as a nation, and will probably unite with and become dependent on the Riccaras, (formerly their neighbors), who have taken possession of their villages, and will continue to occupy them, probably, much to the annoyance of the traders as they pass up and down the river.[2]

D. D. Mitchell, Superintendent of Indian Affairs, St. Louis, estimated in his Annual Report of 1842 that there were 30 Mandan lodges containing 120 men and "300 souls," 150 Arikaree lodges, 450 men and "1,200 souls," and 75 Gros Ventre lodges, 300 men and "800 souls."[3] In regard to any progress towards civilization, Mitchell felt that:

> No advances whatever have been made...amongst the tribes on the upper Missouri; and so long as they continue the wandering life in which they so much delight, all efforts directed to that objective will prove to be only a useless waste of time and money.[4]

Mitchell made a typical evaluation concerning the lands occupied by the Indians west of the Missouri:

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[1] Ibid., pp. 34-37.

[2] Joshua Pilcher, Sub-Agent on the Upper Missouri. Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1838, pp. 498-502.

[3] D. D. Mitchell, Superintendent of Indian Affairs, St. Louis, in Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1842, pp. 426-427.

[4] Ibid., p. 426.

> While there remains such a vast extent of territory covered over with innumerable herds of buffalo and other game, there seems but little prospect of their condition being materially changed. Generations will perhaps pass away before this territory becomes much more circumscribed; for if we draw a line, running north and south, so as to cross the Missouri about the mouth of the Vermilion River, we shall designate the limits beyond which civilized men are never likely to settle. At this point, the Creator seems to have said to the tides of emigration that are annually rolling towards the West: "Thus far shalt thou go, and no farther." At all events, if they go beyond this, they will never stop on the east side of the Rocky Mountains. The utter destitution of the timber, the sterility of sandy soil, together with the coldness and dryness of the climate, furnish obstacles which not even "Yankee enterprise" is likely to overcome. A beneficient Creator seems to have intended this dreary region as an asylum for the Indians, when the force of circumstances shall have driven them from the last acre of the fertile soil which they once possessed. Here no inducements are offered to the ever restless Saxon breed to erect their huts. Should the buffalo and other game in course of time disappear from the prairies, there are a few rich little valleys on the banks of small streams, affording timber sufficient to furnish huts and fuel for the few wanderers whom necessity will compel to seek some other means of subsistence. Should this period ever arrive, a few domestic cattle might be introduced into the country, and the Indians would readily become wandering herdsmen---the Tartars of America. Their peculiar habits and inclinations form them for such pursuits. They never can be made agriculturists or mechanics. The time may arrive when the whole of the Western Indians will be forced to seek a resting-place in this great American desert; and this, in all probability, will form a new era in the history of this singular and ill-fated race. They will remain a wandering, half-civilized, though happy people. "Their flocks and herds will cover a thousand hills," and furnish beef and mutton for a portion of the dense population of whites that will swarm in the more fertile sections of the great valley of the Mississippi.[1]

In 1846, T. P. Moore, the Indian Agent for the Upper Missouri Agency, reported that measles had affected the Arikara and "in consequence of their ignorance of the disease, and its appropriate remedies, it destroyed a large number of them."[2]

He then made a plea for schools to be established by missionaries.

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[1] Ibid., pp. 426-427.

[2] T. P. Moore, Agent on the Upper Missouri. Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1846, pp. 290-295.

His successor, G. C. Mallock, in the Annual Report of 1847, made another plea for education and other kinds of help:

> These people manifest a disposition to be instructed in the agricultural and mechanical arts, although they have made but little improvement as yet. They are highly susceptible...of a speedy and rapid improvement in the arts and habits of social life. They receive no annuity, have no schools or missionaries among them, (are) a great distance from the States, with a large number of rascally white men among them, and it is quite reasonable that they should have made but little improvement.
>
> I cannot too strongly urge upon the department the propriety of doing something for these tribes; their necessities, wants, etc., require it, and humanity and the principles of philanthropy and religion demand that something should be done to civilize and Christianize these unfortunate people. Now is the time for action with them; for in a few years the game, their only means of living, will be extinguished, and they will then be poor indeed. While there yet exists game in the country, they should be given personal security from domestic war and strife. Give them permanent locations and secure residences, with notions of property and of right and wrong, and Christianity and order will naturally spring up of themselves.[1]

TREATIES--1825-1851

The first treaty between the Arikara and the United States Government was signed on July 18, 1825. Its purpose was to end an unprovoked hostility of the "Ricara" tribe, to restore harmony between the parties, and to remove all further or future cause of misunderstanding as respects trade and friendly intercourse between the two parties.[2]

On July 30, 1825, a similar treaty was signed with the Belantse-Etoe or Minitaree (Hidatsa) and the Mandans.[3]

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[1] G. C. Mallock, Agent on the Upper Missouri. Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1847, pp. 848-853.

[2] Charles J. Kappler. Indian Affairs, Laws and Treaties, II, (Treaties) (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1904), pp. 237-239.

[3] Ibid., pp. 239-244.

In the next treaty, the Sioux or Dahcotah, Cheyenne, Arrapahoe, Crow, Assinaboine, Gros-Ventres, Mandan, and Arickara tribes entered into a peace treaty dated September 17, 1851, at Fort Laramie which attempted to establish peace between the tribes themselves, as well as with the United States Government.[1] Under the terms of the treaty, the United States Government could establish roads, military and other posts within their respective territories; the tribes were to be protected against depredations by the people of the United States; depredations on whites were to be satisfied by restitution or other means; the Gros Ventres, Mandan, and Arickara nations were to give up their right of all territory except an area:

> . . . commencing at the mouth of the Heart River; thence up the Missouri River to the mouth of the Yellowstone River; thence up the Yellowstone River to the mouth of the Powder River in a southeasterly direction to the head-waters of the Little Missouri River; thence along the black hills to the head of the Heart River; and thence down the Heart River to the place of beginning.[2]

The map on page 106 delineates the territory assigned to the Gros Ventre, Mandan, and Arikara by the Treaty of Laramie. The territories of the other Indian Nations were also delineated with the provision that the Indians would not prejudice or abandon any rights or claims they may have had to other lands nor surrender the privilege of hunting, fishing, or the right to pass over any of the tracts heretofore described; the Indian nations were to conduct all future business through their Chiefs; they were to receive the sum of $50,000 annually for a period of ten years with the right to continue these payments at the discretion of the President, not exceeding five years thereafter, these sums to be paid in

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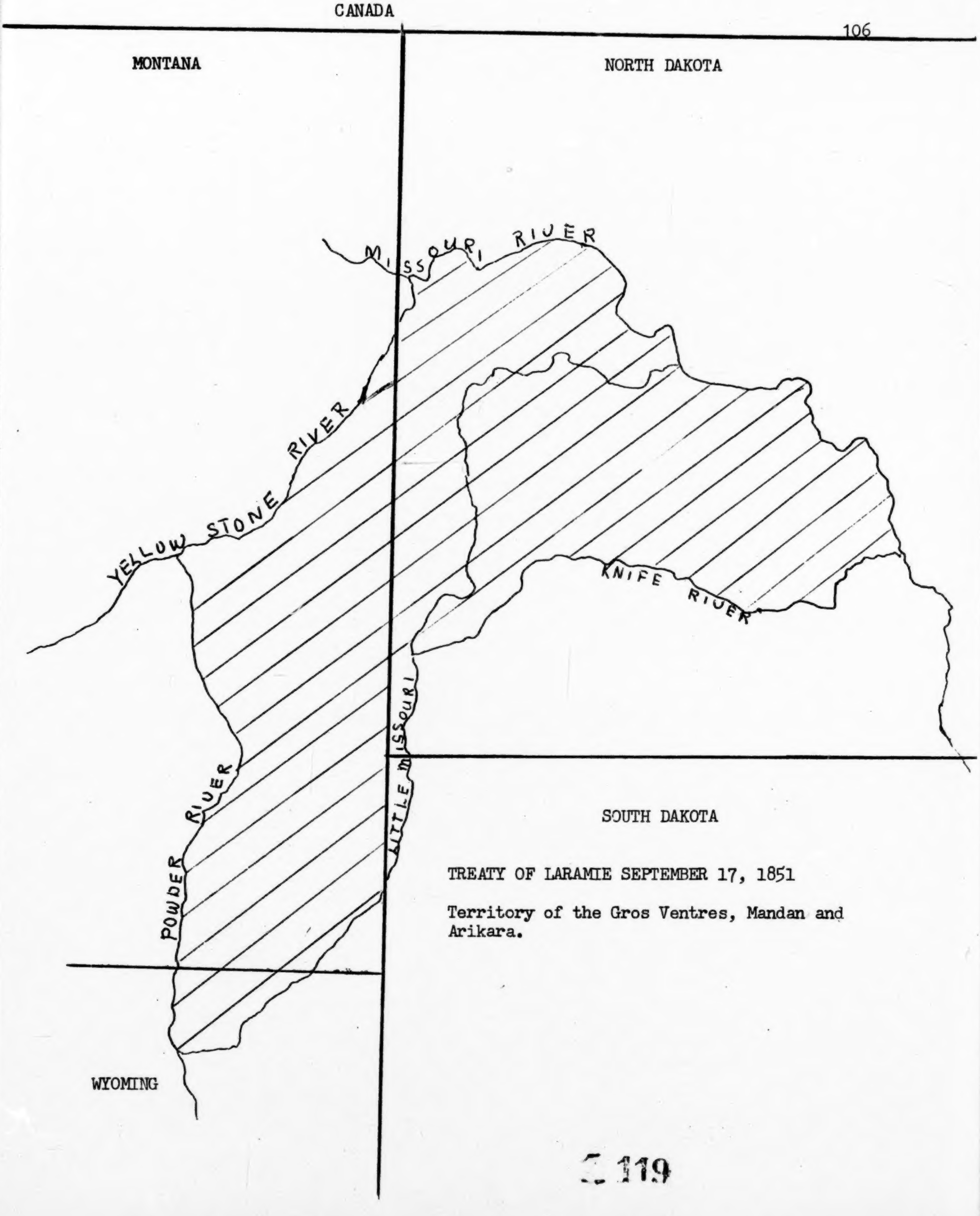
[1] Ibid., pp. 594-596.

[2] Ibid., p. 594.


CANADA
MONTANA
NORTH DAKOTA
MISSOURI RIVER
YELLOW STONE RIVER
KNIFE RIVER
LITTLE MISSOURI
POWDER RIVER
SOUTH DAKOTA
WYOMING

TREATY OF LARAMIE SEPTEMBER 17, 1851

Territory of the Gros Ventres, Mandan and Arikara.

provisions, merchandise, domestic animals, and agricultural implements, to be distributed in proportion to the population of the Indian nations; and, the annuities could be suspended if any of the provisions of the treaty were violated.[1]

D. D. Mitchell, Superintendent of the St. Louis Central Superintendency, and one of the Commissioners representing the United States Government during the negotiations, took a positive view concerning the merits of the Treaty of Laramie:

> We were eighteen days encamped together, during which time the Indians conducted themselves in a manner that excited the admiration and surprise of every one.
>
> Fifty thousand dollars for a limited period of years is a small amount to be distributed among at least fifty thousand Indians, especially when we consider that we have taken, or are rapidly taking, away from them all means of support, by what may be considered a partial occupancy of their soil. On the score of economy, to say nothing of justice or humanity, I believe that amount would be well expended. In the opinions of the best informed persons, (who had an opportunity of judging), it will, in all probability, save the country from the ruinous and useless expenses of a war against the prairie tribes, which would cost many millions, and be productive of nothing but increased feelings of hostility on the part of the Indians, and annoyance and vexation to the government....Humanity calls loudly for some interposition on the part of the American Government to save, if possible, some portion of these ill-fated tribes; and this, it is thought, can only be done by furnishing them with the means, and gradually turning their attention to agricultural pursuits. Without some aid from the Government, it will be impossible for them to make an attempt even as graziers....The laying off of the country into geographical or rather national domains, I regard as a very important measure, inasmuch as it will enable the Government to ascertain who are depredators, should depredations hereafter be committed.
>
> Viewing the treaty in all its provisions, I am clearly of the opinion that it is the best that could have been made for both parties. I am moreover of the opinion that it will be observed and carried out in as good faith on the part of the Indians, as it will on the part of the United States and the white people thereof. There was an

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[1] Ibid., pp. 594-596.

> earnest solemnity, and a deep conviction of the necessity of adopting some such measures, evident in the conduct and manners of the Indians throughout the whole council.[1]

Charles Larpenteur, a trader on the Upper Missouri, offered a different point of view on the accomplishments of the Treaty of Laramie. He felt that the treaty system did not take into account the nature of the Indians; and that the "Laramie Treaty of 1851 was the most absurd I ever heard of."[2] The intent of the treaty was to bring about peace between all of the tribes on the Missouri and the Platte, but, in Larpenteur's judgement, the Indians were incapable of keeping such a peace. He stated that, "The Indians fought before they got home; war was carried on among them the same as before, and afterward war with the whites."[3]

He thought that instead of making treaties, the Government should have "managed" the Indians; that the Indians could not be subdued by the army but by hunger and the prospect of starvation.[4]

Larpenteur proposed that the tribes be provided with agencies which would have permanent agents for the entire year rather than for just a yearly visit. The agents would possess adequate power to control all the business which would be transacted.[5] All traders and storekeepers would be instructed in the rules and regulations of the agency, but would be banished if they did not follow them. The agent would be allotted 25 laboring men, two carpenters, one blacksmith, one engineer and one sawyer, plus a detachment of cavalry troops whose numbers would be determined by the size of the Indian population.[1] Agricultural implements would be furnished, fences erected, prizes given for good housekeeping, and methods of motivation employed to promote these accomplishments.[2] Schools and missions would not be introduced to the tribes until the Indians had been "turned to agriculture and taught the habits of industry and economy."[3] (The record shows that the system which gradually grew up under the Indian Service was similar in many ways to the one which Larpenteur suggested.)

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[1] D. D. Mitchell. Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1851, pp. 27-29.

[2] Charles Larpenteur, in Elliott Coues, Editor. Forty Years a Fur Trader on the Upper Missouri, II (New York: Francis P. Harper, 1898), p. 419.

[3] Ibid., p. 420.

[4] Ibid., p. 422.

[5] Ibid., p. 424.

POST LARAMIE TREATY PERIOD--1851-1862

With the signing of the Treaty of Fort Laramie on September 17, 1851, the Three Tribes were assigned a definite territory which, although destined to decrease in size as new treaties and agreements were agreed upon, was to be the location of their permanent home. All of the Indians in the area entered into a new phase of life style with its accompanying problems. D. D. Mitchell, Superintendent of Indian Affairs in St. Louis reviewed some of the problems of the 1850's, especially as they pertained to the Indians located on the western border of the Missouri.

He argued that little or no good had resulted from the humane efforts of the Government or from individuals who were trying to civilize the Indians. The problem was the constant encroachment of the white man on Indian territory which discouraged the Indian from entering into agriculture or the mechanical arts. All changes had been against the Indian as seen by the destruction of his game, the waste of his forests, and the introduction of diseases which were unknown when the Indian was in his primitive state. Although this was to be deplored, there was no remedy.[1]

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[1] _Ibid._, p. 424.

[2] _Ibid._, p. 425.

[3] _Ibid._, p. 426.

In the same report, Jas. H. Norwood, Indian Agent for the Upper Missouri reported on the condition of the Three Tribes and their neighboring Sioux:

> During the winter I had an opportunity of seeing a great many of the Sioux, who came, some of them, from a considerable distance to see me....As the buffalo were very scarce, there was much distress among these people...and I here beg leave to suggest, that few persons have any idea of the amount of suffering implied in a healthy, vigorous race, becoming extinct. The cholera and the small-pox, it is true, do their part, but the work of destruction is mainly to be attributed to the want of food and clothing.[2]

The new Agent for the Upper Missouri Agency, Alfred J. Vaughn, on September 20, 1853, the following year, reported on the conditions of life among the Three Tribes:

> The most that appears to disturb them, and that which they speak more frequently about than anything else, is the great loss of so many of their friends and relatives by the distressing ravages made by the introduction amongst them of the smallpox, measles, and cholera, which they attribute solely to the emigrants passing through their country, and which they much fear will continue to pass, bringing again the same diseases.
>
> The region of country occupied by these respective bands is destitute of game; consequently these Indians are and have been in a very destitute condition. The extreme severity of the weather,

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[1] D. D. Mitchell. Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1852, pp. 65-68.

[2] Ibid., pp. 68-70

> last winter, prevented them from leaving their homes in quest of buffalo, their range being a long distance off.
>
> It is, however, manifest to every observing and reflecting mind, that notwithstanding many portions of this country abound so plenty-with buffalo and the smaller game, that this source of their subsistence is occupying annually a smaller portion of territory; and the improvident and reckless course pursued by the Indians in destroying them must in a few years produce such a scarcity that distress as a natural consequence must follow.
>
> I have taken no little pains to ascertain the supposed number of buffalo annually destroyed in this agency, and, from the best information, the number does not fall very far short of 400,000. Not less than 100,000 robes have been shipped by the two companies who are licensed to trade amongst the Indians under my charge. 150,000 are destroyed, of which a small portion of their flesh is consumed; they are killed for their hides, to make lodges, which they are compelled to make very secure to protect them from the extreme severity of the weather during the winter. Numbers of these lodges are disposed of to the traders for securing their peltries and robes, when traded, from exposure to inclement weather; numbers freeze and starve to death in snow-banks, which for months are found in drifts from five to ten feet in depth, and numbers are drowned in crossing and re-crossing the Missouri River, owing to the large numbers in crossing crowding on each other.
>
> The Arick-a-rees, Gros-ventres, and Mandans, cultivate the soil to a limited extent, raising corn, beans, pumpkins, squashes, etc., etc.; but I am very sorry to say their efforts this season will be entirely unavailing, owing to the unparalleled ravages of the grasshopper. In many places through this entire region they have consumed every vestige of vegetation; in many places not leaving for acres a spire of grass. Their surplus crops of former years they would barter with their traders and neighboring Indians.
>
> These several tribes have suffered distressingly from cholera by being permanently located in dirt lodges--are more exposed to that disease than the roving prairie tribes; and you cannot remove the impression from amongst them but that the diseases--cholera, smallpox, and measles--were first introduced among them by the whites passing through the country.[1]

A period of unrest between the Indians, as well as between the Indian and the non-Indian, rapidly developed, especially among the Siouxan tribes and this was to have grave consequences for the Fort Berthold Indians. In 1855, Alfred Vaughan reported on a meeting with the Three Tribes. They were especially concerned with depredations committed by some of the Sioux bands. Since there were only about 840 Arikaras, 252 Mandans, and 76 Hidatsa, their numbers were so small that they found it hard to cope with their enemies especially considering that they were short of munitions of war needed for self defense.[1]

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[1] Alfred J. Vaughn. Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1853, pp. 112-115.

The basic problems of the Fort Berthold Indians were many and of the utmost importance. Although they were generally able to raise enough vegetables to satisfy their own requirements, they were not able to obtain their meat (proteins) nor the by-products of the buffalo so long as they were confined to their villages. In addition, this very confinement, with its accompanying concentration of large numbers of people in a small area lacking the facilities and knowledge for sanitation, was a major factor in their susceptibility to disease. Further, when they did not obtain buffalo or other hides, they did not have the capacity to buy guns or ammunition either for hunting or for the purpose of defending themselves against the Sioux. Although the design of their villages gave them considerable physical protection when under attack by other hostile tribes, the very fact of their confinement meant that they had to meet a new set of problems, such as in the area of disease or procurement of food, some of which they could not solve by themselves.

In his report dated September 10, 1856, Alfred Vaughan reflected some of these anxieties:

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[1] Alfred J. Vaughan. Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1855, pp. 72-76.

> Particularly among the stationary tribes under my charge, the Arikarees, Mandans, and Gros Ventres, in my councils with them, has been manifested an earnest desire that schools and missionaries be established among them.
>
> They state that in a few years they plainly see that they will have no buffalo in their country, and that their only dependence will be to turn their attention to the cultivation of the soil, and that they want their children to be taught while young to live as the whites. They argue that if they are left in their present condition till the tide of emigration, which they say is now nearly upon them, drives the few scattered buffalo from their now quiet hunting ground, and till infections, diseases, and other evils incident to a sudden occupation of their territory be introduced, starvation and death are inevitable.
>
> Should not our great national rulers in time stretch out a saving arm, (which they say they are satisfied they will do, from their past experience), they feel confident that they are doomed to pass away rapidly from earth, and that their salvation depends on the goodness of their great father.[1]

On October 27, 1856, Vaughan reported that a hailstorm had destroyed two thirds of the Arikaree's and the Mandan's crops of corn and vegetables, that smallpox was raging, and requested the vaccination of all of the Indians in the Upper Missouri Agency.[2]

A. H. Redfield replaced Vaughan as Agent for the Upper Missouri Agency and in his first report dated September 9, 1857, he noted that the smallpox "scourge swept off" fully one fourth of their numbers and that the Mandans were in the process of moving to Fort Berthold to put themselves under the protection of the Gros Ventres.[3]

Redfield described an incident relative to the state of conditions existing between the members of the Three Tribes and the surrounding Sioux in a letter dated November 9, 1857:

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[1] Alfred J. Vaughan. *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs*. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1856, pp. 82-85.

[2] *Ibid*., pp. 135-137.

[3] A. H. Redfield. *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs*. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1857, pp. 127-128.

> At the very moment our boat landed, a large party of some sixty mounted Yanctonais made an attack upon the villages, and succeeded in driving off eleven horses of the Gros Ventres, and killed six fine oxen belonging to D. M. Frost & Co., licensed traders. The Gros Ventres and Mandans, as soon as possible, bravely pursued, and a running fight ensued, which lasted some hours, and into the night. About an equal number of horses were recovered, but at a loss of three Gros Ventres and one Mandan killed and several wounded. They, however, killed four of the Sioux, and wounded some.
>
> The pleadings of these poor people for help and for protection against their powerful and cruel enemy were most touching. I promised to do all I could for them with their Great Father.
>
> They are continually subject to these attacks; their property is taken from them, and they are being rapidly destroyed. They are peaceful and industrious; their village I found full of corn and pumpkins, and many other products of their honest labor. Shall they be protected and instructed and civilized, or shall we suffer them to be blotted out? "If," said their great orator, "Long Hair," "our great father will not protect us, he ought at least to untie our hands--relieve us from the obligation of the treaty, and then we will try to protect ourselves."[1]

In his report for the following year, 1858, Redfield summarized the situation between the Indians on the Upper Missouri. He noted that the Indian trade in buffalo robes to be only one half of what it had been during the ten previous years and that the buffalo were decreasing at an alarming rate; the population of the Indians was rapidly declining; treaty obligations were not being honored between the several tribes; whiskey was being introduced; there were no religious, moral, intellectual, agricultural, or any other kinds of civilized influences; the prospects for the Indian were gloomy unless prompt and efficient measures were adopted to save him; and that the Indian race could be perpetuated, civilized, and Christianized.[1]

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[1] Ibid., pp. 135-137.

Hon. A. B. Greenwood, Commissioner of Indian Affairs in his annual report of 1860 reported on the amount of disaffection among the Sioux of the Upper Missouri Agency toward the Government and its agents which was continuing to multiply during the 1850's. The Upper Missouri Sioux felt that the lands they claimed as their own had been ceded and disposed of by other Siouxan tribes who had no right or interest in the disputed territory and that these latter tribes were receiving benefits which the Upper Missouri Sioux should enjoy. As a consequence, treaty violations were made on the ground that they had been wrongfully divested of their land.[2]

A different view of the causes for Indian unrest was proposed by Agent Burleigh in 1861:

> All of the disturbance which has occurred has been occasioned by the whites and half-breeds, who stick to the Indians like so many "blood-suckers," as long as there is the least possibility of swindling them out of either their furs, provisions, or annuity goods.[3]

A third view was suggested by Father P. J. DeSmet in a letter to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs dated September 5, 1862:

> The Indians of the plains had been greatly tampered with by the English traders along the boundary line, and expected to assist them in the then expected war between Great Britain and the United States.[4]

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[1] A. H. Redfield, Indian Agent for the Upper Missouri Agency. *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs*. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1858, pp. 86, 89-91.

[2] Hon. A. B. Greenwood, Commissioner. *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs*. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1861, p. 15.

[3] W. A. Burleigh, United States Yancton Agent. *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs*. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1862, p. 5.

[4] Father P. J. DeSmet. *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs*. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1862, p. 5.

A fourth position was stated by Commissioner W. P. Dole, who blamed some of the unrest on the South's strategy in regard to the Indians during the Civil War. According to Dole, southern agents were spreading the story that:

> . . . the troops of the United States had been defeated in several battles, and that the Government of the United States was destroyed and would be unable to resist them, (which suggests) the time as favorable for an effort to recover their lands and to gratify their desire for vengeance upon the whites.[1]

The early 1860's saw both the Civil War and the defeat of the Minnesota Sioux by General Sibley. Commissioner Dole, in his annual report, commented on the Sioux westward migration from Minnesota and the mood of the dispossessed Indians. He said that the thirteen thousand Sioux of South Dakota were among the most warlike and powerful tribes of the continent and had an abundance of horses and expert riders, and were capable of inflicting considerable damage on frontier settlements while being hard to subdue. These tribes were constantly raiding the tribes of the Upper Missouri who dared to remain on friendly terms with the United States.

On the other hand, Fort Laramie treaty provisions tied the hands of the friendly tribes, and kept them away from the hunting grounds, making them suffer from loss of food. There was great danger that the friendly Indians would have to resort to war.[2]

Both W. Jayne, Governor and Superintendent of Indian Affairs, Dakota Agency, and Samuel N. Latta, Agent, Upper Missouri Agency, described the manner in which the Fort Berthold Indians were affected by the Siouxan problem. Jayne reported that:

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[1] Wm. P. Dole, Commissioner. Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1862, p. 6.

[2] Ibid., pp. 29-31.

> The Rees and Gros Ventres proper, who are about the only tribes belonging to this agency who have been and remain sincerely friendly to the government, are living together in their village on the Missouri River, near Fort Berthold. They have been twice attacked this year by the Sioux, who are hostile towards them because they desire to remain at peace with the whites.[1]

Latta was more specific when he wrote:

> Last winter a war party, composed of the Sioux of my agency and the Yancton Sioux, attacked the Gros Ventres and Mandans at their village, killing the Gros Ventre chief, Four Bears, and several others, and carrying off one hundred and seventy-five head of horses.
>
> About the first of August last a large party of Sioux attacked the Arickarees in their village, killing a number of them, together with a white man trading at that place. They were repulsed with a loss of some thirty killed.
>
> The Mandans and Gros Ventres...have many complaints to make against the Sioux; were still in mourning for their chief, Four Bears, killed, as before stated, by a Yancton Sioux. They live in constant dread of the Sioux; are very poor, from the fact that the Sioux steal their horses, and frequently their crops, when raised; without horses they cannot pursue the buffalo, and such is their fear of the Sioux that they will scarcely venture out far enough to procure meat sufficient for their families.[2]

Latta noted that the Arikaras were moving to a point across from Fort Berthold and were moving out of Fort Clark, some 80 miles below, due to the harassment they were suffering at the hands of the Sioux who would arrive at about the time the crops were ripe and carry off most of it.

MILITARY PERIOD--1863-1883

Conditions between the Sioux and the surrounding Indian tribes continued to deteriorate the next two years. In 1863, General Sibley drove the Sioux from Minnesota to the limits of the Dakota Superintendency. General Sully began his campaign by moving westward from Sioux City, Iowa, but, upon leaving Fort Pierre, found that the Indians had burned the prairies as they proceeded toward the Yellowstone River, leaving the country a desert waste, thus preventing pursuit. General Sully then withdrew to Sioux City without encountering the Indians. According to Samuel Latta, this campaign accomplished nothing.[1] In the meantime, Agent Henry W. Reed of the Blackfeet Indians reported on the plight of the newly established Arikara village. These observations were made as he traveled by steamer to and from his post:

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[1] W. Jayne, Governor and Superintendent of Indian Affairs, Dakota Agency. Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1862, p. 176.

[2] Samuel W. Latta. Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1862, pp. 193-195.

> When we passed up the river last spring, the Rees, some three miles above Fort Berthold, had a fine village recently built of permanent material; were cultivating some little land, and gave most promising evidence of considerable advance toward civilization. When we returned last fall their village and lands were deserted, all their hopes blasted, several of their number killed, and they themselves so endangered as to be compelled to seek, with the Mandans and Gros Ventres at Fort Berthold, that protection from the Sioux they could find nowhere else. All of the above Indians are looking, as their only hope, to this government for help. If we aid them soon, they live; if not, they die.[2]

Agent S. N. Latta also reported that several hundred Sioux had "attacked their village at Fort Berthold a few days before (he arrived) and had captured and driven off all their horses, some seventy-five in number, thus leaving them in a helpless condition."[3]

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[1] Samuel W. Latta. Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1863, pp. 163-164.

[2] Henry W. Reed. Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1863, p. 165.

[3] Samuel W. Latta, op. cit., p. 170.

A new agent, Mahlon Wilkinson, was appointed to serve the Three Tribes, Assiniboines, and the Crows. He arrived at Fort Berthold on June 6, 1864. A month later, on July 2, 1864, White Shield, Head Chief of the Arikara made a speech pleading for protection by Federal troops:

> I speak for my brothers, the Arickarees, Gros Ventres, and Mandans. We all live in peace in the same village, as you see us. We have a long time been friends of the white man, and we will still be. Our grandfathers, the Black Bear of the Arickarees, and the Four Bears of the Gros Ventres, were at the treaty with our white brothers on the Platte a long time ago. They told us to be the friends of our white brothers, and not go to war with our neighbors, the Dakota Sioux, Chippewas, Crees, Assinaboines, Crows, nor Blackfeet. We listened to their words as long as they were heard in council. They both have been killed by the Dakotas; we have none left among us who heard the talk at the treaty on the Platte. We want a new treaty with our Great Father; we want him to tell us where we must live. We own the country from Heart River to the Black Hills, from there to the Yellowstone River, and north to Mouse River. We are afraid of the Dakotas; they will kill us, our squaws and children, and steal our horses. We must stay in our village for fear of them. Our Great Father has promised us soldiers to help us keep the Dakotas out of our country. No help has come yet; we must wait. Has our Great Father forgotten his children? We want to live in our country or have pay for it, as our Great Father is used to do with his other Red children. We, the Arickarees, have been driven from our country on the other side of the Missouri River by the Dakotas. We came to our brothers, the Gros Ventres and Mandans; they received us as brothers, and we all live together in their village. We thank our brothers very much. We want our Father to bring us guns to hunt with, and we want dresses, coats, pants, shirts, and hats for our soldiers, and a different dress for our chiefs; we want a school for our children. Our hearts are good. We do not speak with two tongues. We like to see our white brothers come among us very much. We hear bad talk, but have no ears. When we hear good talk we have ears.[1]

White Shield's plea was one of many requests made by the Indians for protection, financial assistance, schools, and missionaries. However, the decision to leave a garrison at Fort Berthold was made primarily because of factors related to military control of the area during the Civil War, not to keep peace between the various Indian tribes.[1] When General Sully established the garrison on August 29,[2] it was the first time that the Fort Berthold Indians were in close contact with any large numbers of whites for an extended period.[3] The military post had doctors, medical supplies, rations, and other items which were made available to the natives.[4] In addition, some of the Indians were given permanent employment as army scouts and civilian workers.[5]

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[1] White Shield, Chief of the Arickara. *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs*. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1864, p. 264.

Wilkinson notified the United States Government, in his 1864 report, that the Three Tribes, along with the Assiniboines, were now willing to enter into a new treaty which would cede their right to lands south of the Missouri River. In a letter written on September 13, 1865, addressed to the Acting Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Washington, D. C., Van Valkenburgh, Newton Edmunds, Governor and Ex-Officio Superintendent of Indian Affairs, noted that according to the Treaty of Laramie, September 17, 1851, under which the Fort Berthold Indians had been receiving aid from the government, the period for payments had now expired and there would be no provision made for the following year. He requested a special provision be made until a new understanding could be reached.[1] On July 27, 1866, a new treaty was signed at Fort Berthold between Newton Edmunds, Major General S. R. Curtis, Orrin Guernsey, and Henry W. Reed, Commissioners appointed on the part of the United States to make treaties with the Indians of the Upper Missouri, and the chiefs and headmen of the Arickaree tribe of Indians.[2] The map on page 122 shows the territory as the result of the Fort Laramie Treaty and the cessions of 1868 for Fort Buford and the one of 1870 covering the land below Fort Stevenson. The Commissioners, in their report to the Secretary of the Interior, Hon. James Harlan, commented that:

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[1] Edward M. Bruner. "Mandan," in Edward H. Spicer, (ed.). *Perspectives in American Indian Culture Change*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1966, p. 233.

[2] Ralph M. Shane. "A Short History of the Fort Berthold Indian Reservation," *North Dakota History*, XXV, No. 4, (Bismarck: State Historical Society, 1958), pp. 196-197.

[3] Mathews, *op. cit.*, pp. 30-31.

[4] Philippe de Trobriand, George Will, translator. *Army Life in Dakota*. Chicago: Lakeside Press, 1941, pp. 154-158.

[5] Mathews, *op. cit.*, p. 31.

> Taking these views of the necessity of some development of the upper Missouri country as the great highway to the increasing mineral settlements of the northwest, and in harmony with the general instructions emanating from your department, we obtained from the Indians--the Arikarees, Mandans, and Gros Ventres, Assiniboines, and Crows--not only a right of way through their possessions, but also cessions of lands at such points as seemed to us especially necessary for settlement and cultivation. The cession from the Arikarees, Mandans, and Gros Ventres, who inhabit the country about Fort Berthold, cedes the country on the east side of the Missouri, from old Fort Clark to Snake Creek or River, being about forty miles long and twenty-five miles wide, and including the salient point of the river which is nearest to Devil's Lake, Pembina, Lake Superior, and the upper settlements of the Mississippi.[3]

Article Seven of the agreement provided that:

> In consideration of the foregoing agreements, stipulations, cessions, and undertakings, and of their faithful observance by the said Aricara tribe of Indians, the United States agree to expend at the time of signing this treaty, the sum of ten thousand dollars annually for twenty years, after the ratification of this treaty by the President and the Senate of the United States, to be expended in such goods, provisions, and other articles as the President may

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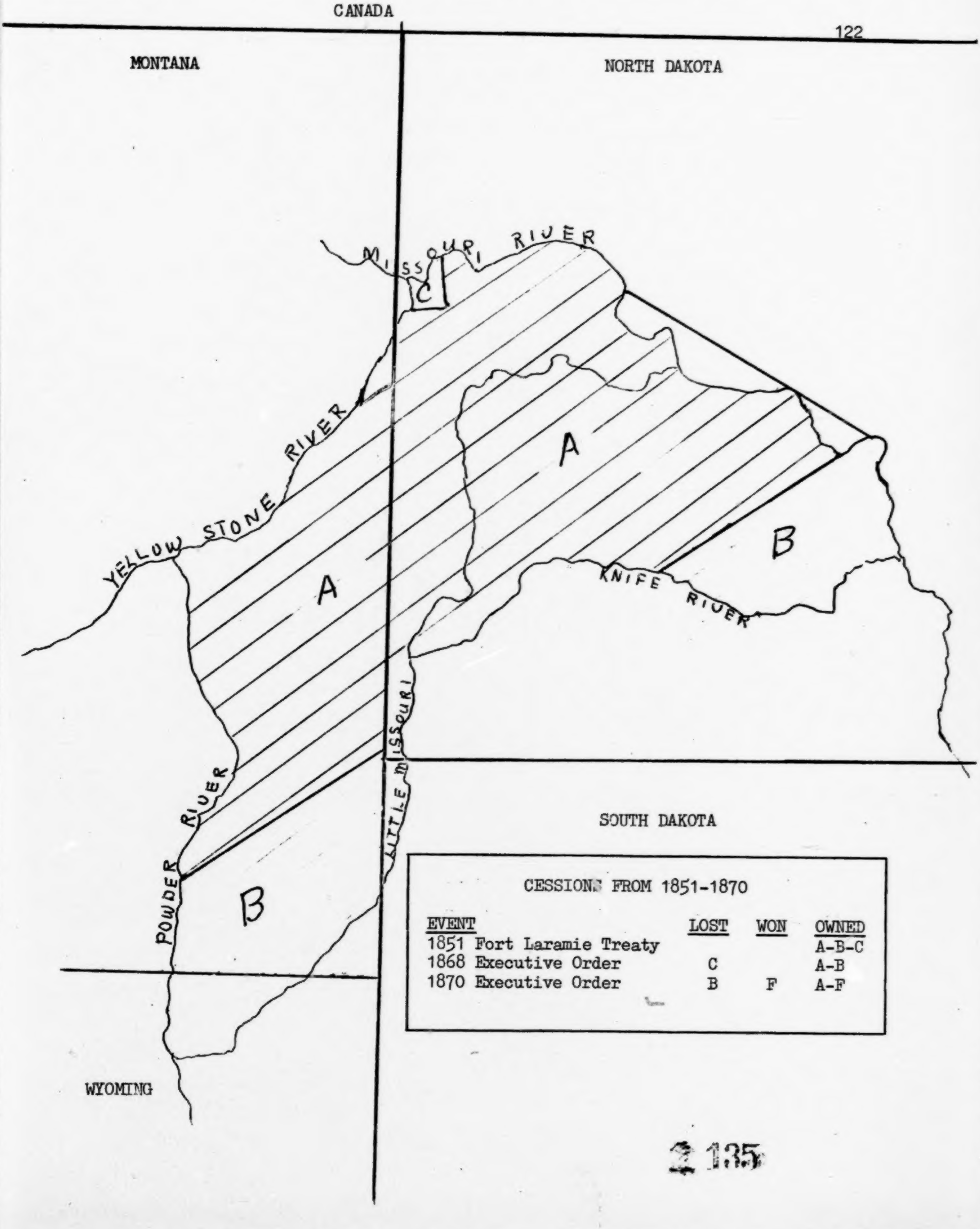
[1] Newton Edmunds, Governor and Ex-Officio Superintendent Indian Affairs. Annual Report Commissioner of Indian Affairs. Washington: Government Office, 1865, p. 226.

[2] Kappler, op. cit., Vol. II, pp. 1052-55.

[3] Newton Edmunds, et al. Annual Report Commissioner of Indian Affairs. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1866, p. 162.


CANADA
MONTANA
NORTH DAKOTA
MISSOURI RIVER
C
YELLOW STONE RIVER
A
A
B
KNIFE RIVER
LITTLE MISSOURI
POWDER RIVER
B
SOUTH DAKOTA
WYOMING

CESSIONS FROM 1851-1870

EVENT	LOST	WON	OWNED
1851 Fort Laramie Treaty			A-B-C
1868 Executive Order	C		A-B
1870 Executive Order	B	F	A-F

> in his discretion, from time to time determine; provided, and it is hereby agreed that the President may, at his discretion, annually expend so much of the sum of three thousand dollars as he shall deem proper, in the purchase of stock, animals, agricultural implements, in establishing and instructing in agricultural and mechanical pursuits, such of said Indians as shall be disposed thereto; and in the employment of mechanics for them, in educating their children, in providing necessary and proper medicines, medical attendance, care for and support of the aged, sick, and infirm of their number, for the helpless orphans of said Indians, and in any other respect promoting their civilization, comfort, and improvement; provided further, that the President of the United States may, at his discretion determine in what proportion the said annuities shall be distributed among said Indians; and the United States further agree that out of the sum above stipulated to be paid to said Indians, there shall be set apart and paid to the head-chief, the sum of two hundred dollars annually, and to the soldier-chiefs fifty dollars annually in money or supplies, so long as they and their bands remain faithful to their treaty obligations.[1]

As originally conceived, the idea of a land reservation for the Three Tribes would provide for enough land to allow them to retain their subsistence economy. Any treaty, therefore, would assume that enough area should be included in the reserve for raising crops, supplemental food supply from hunting of game, and gathering of other foods from the prairies.

A reservation had been set aside for the members of the Three Tribes in the Treaty of Fort Laramie on October 17, 1851, but the subsequent treaty concluded at Fort Berthold on July 27, 1866, made no reference to the above provision. On April 12, 1870, Commissioner E. S. Parker recommended to J. D. Cox, Secretary of the Interior, that a reservation as proposed by Captain Wainwright on September 25, 1869, be established which would extend:

> . . . from a point on the Missouri River four miles below the Indian village (Berthold), in a northeast direction three miles (so as to include the wood and grazing around the village); from this point

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[1] Kappler, op. cit., pp.1053-54.

> a line running so as to strike the Missouri River at the junction of Little Knife River with it; thence along the left bank of the Missouri River to the mouth of the Yellowstone River, along the south bank of the Yellowstone to the Powder River to where the Little Powder River unites with it; thence in a direct line across to the starting point four miles below Berthold.[1]

The land was set aside by an executive order signed by President U. S. Grant on April 12, 1870.[1] This order took away from the Fort Berthold Indians the area north and west of the Heart River that had been described in the 1851 treaty, but added the property from the point on the Missouri four miles below the village, three miles northeast and thence to the mouth of the Little Knife River,[2] leaving a total of 8,320,000 acres in the reservation.[3]

There was an additional incentive for President Grant to issue the above executive order at that time. Congress had passed an act dated July 2, 1864, described as "an Act granting lands to aid in the construction of a railroad and telegraph line from Lake Superior to Puget Sound, on the Pacific coast, by the northern route." This Act provided that "the United States shall extinguish as rapidly as may be consistent with public policy and the welfare of said Indians, the Indian titles to all lands falling under the operation of this act, and acquired in the donation to the (road) named in this bill."[4] The land needed for the Northern Pacific Railroad west of the Missouri passed through territories owned by the Three Tribes and the executive order of April 12, 1870, procured this area for the railroad.

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[1] *Ibid.*, I, pp. 881-883.

[2] *Ibid.*, I, p. 882.

[3] John P. Williamson. *Annual Report Commissioner Indian Affairs*. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1874, p. 48.

[4] F. A. Walker, Commissioner. *Annual Report Commissioner Indian Affairs*. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1872, p. 75.

The Homestead Act of May 20, 1862, had granted 160 acres of unoccupied public domain to homesteaders in return for the payment of nominal fees.[1] An executive order, signed by President Rutherford B. Hayes on July 13, 1880, returned some territories to the public domain and withdrew others, leaving a net total of 2,912,000 acres.[2] The lands returned included:

> . . . Territories of Dakota and Montana, respectively, lying within the following boundaries, viz, beginning at a point where the northern forty-mile limit of the grant to the Northern Pacific Railroad intersects the present southeast boundary of the Fort Berthold Reservation; thence westerly with the line of said forty-mile limit to its intersection with range line, between ranges 92 and 93 west of the fifth principal meridian; thence north along said range line to its intersection with the south bank of the Little Missouri River; thence northwesterly along and up the south bank of said Little Missouri River, with the meanders thereof to its intersection with the range line between ranges 96 and 97 west of the fifth principal meridian; thence westerly in a straight line to the southeast corner of the Fort Buford Military Reservation; thence west along the south boundary of said military reservation to the south bank of the Yellowstone River, the present northwest boundary of the Fort Berthold Indian Reservation; thence along the present boundary of said reservation and the south bank of the Yellowstone River to the Powder River; thence up the Powder River to where the Little Powder River unites with it; thence northeasterly in a direct line to the point of beginning.[3]

The land which was withdrawn from sale and set apart for the use of the Arickara, Gros Ventre, and Mandan Indians as an addition to the present reservation, was that tract of country in the Territory of Dakota:

> ...lying within the following-described boundaries, viz, beginning

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[1] Graebner, op. cit., p. 569.

[2] J. D. Atkins, Commissioner. Annual Report Commissioner Indian Affairs. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1885, p. 350.

[3] Kappler, op. cit., p. 883.

> on the most easterly point of the present Fort Berthold Indian Reservation (on the Missouri River); thence north to the township line between townships 158 and 159 north; thence west along said township line to its intersection with the White Earth River to its junction with the Missouri River; thence along the present boundary of the Fort Berthold Indian Reservation and the left bank of the Missouri River to the mouth of the Little Knife River.[1]

This order clarified which lands would be open for settlement by the homesteaders. (The map on page 127 shows the Fort Berthold Reservation after the Presidential Proclamation of July 13, 1880.)

It is important to note some of the conditions facing the non-Indian population during this period. President Lincoln issued the Emancipation Proclamation in September, 1863, freeing the slaves of the South; a joint resolution of March 3, 1865, directed a thorough-going inquiry into the treatment of the Indian tribes by the civil and military authorities; the Civil War ended in early April, 1865; President Lincoln was assassinated on April 14 of the same year;[2] the Act of July 27, 1868, completed the consolidation of administrative control over Indian Affairs in the Department of Interior;[3] the 1870's marked the first decade in which the growth of Federal Indian law was entirely a matter of legislation rather than of treaty making;[4] General Grant was elected president in 1868; in that same year the Black Hills became a permanent Indian reservation;[5] in 1872, General George Custer explored and issued a report

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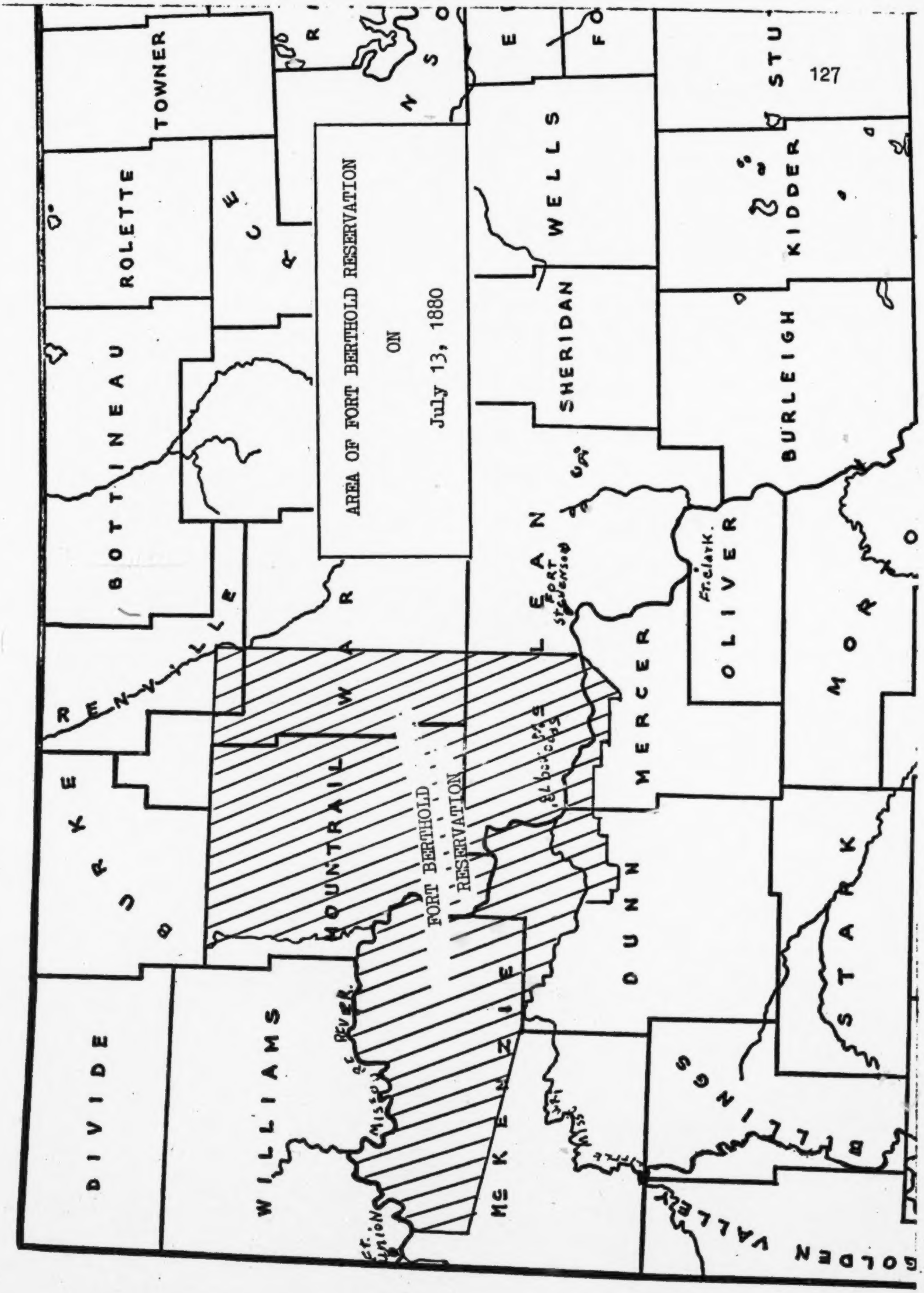
[1] *Ibid.*, p 883.

[2] Cohen, *op. cit.*, p. 113.

[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 113-114.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 114.

[5] Kappler, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 998-1007.



AREA OF FORT BERTHOLD RESERVATION

ON

July 13, 1880

TOWNER
ROLETTE
BOTTINEAU
RENVILLE
WARD
McLEAN
BURKE
MOUNTRAIL
DIVIDE
WILLIAMS
McKENZIE
DUNN
MERCER
OLIVER
MOR
STARK
BILLINGS
GOLDEN VALLEY
SHERIDAN
WELLS
BURLEIGH
KIDDER
STU
FORT BERTHOLD RESERVATION
FORT STEVENSON
Ft. Clark
Missouri River
Ft. Union
Little Miss.

on the mineral wealth of the Black Hills area, announcing that gold did exist in paying quantities in the Hills;[1] the population increased in the Dakota Territory from less than 15,000 in 1870, to approximately 135,000 in 1880, brought about by gold, railroads, and the techniques of bonanza farming;[2] and the contract made with the Sioux was negated by some of the Siouxan tribes, marked by an increase in hostility between them and the settlers, which resulted in the attempt of the Sioux to form an alliance with their surrounding tribes for the purpose of driving the whites out of Indian country.[3] The Homestead Act was passed in 1862, permitting any person who was twenty one years of age, or who had declared his intention to become a citizen, to obtain 160 acres of public domain;[4] the Northern Pacific Railroad was completed to Bismarck by 1873; and its route extended westward in 1878;[5] by 1880, two rail lines had been completed to the Missouri, one to Pierre, and one to Chamberlain.[6]

Three grasshopper plagues hit Dakota Territory in 1874, 1875, and 1876;[7] there was a gradual shift in attitude of white settlers favoring Indian lands over Indian markets;[8] President Grant instituted a new peace policy toward the Indians whereby the War Department and the Interior Department were to have joint jurisdiction over the Indians, and various religious missionary organizations would have a voice in the appointment of local agents and the program of civilizing and training the Indians.[1]

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[1] Howard Roberts Lamar. *Dakota Territory, 1861-1889*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1956, p. 150.

[2] *Ibid*., p. 148.

[3] *Ibid*., p. 151.

[4] Braebner, *op*. *cit*., p. 747.

[5] Marius Campbell and others. *Guidebook of the Western United States: Part A*. The Northern Pacific Route, Bulletin No. 611, U. S. Geological Survey. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1915, p. 51.

[6] Lamar, *op*. *cit*., p. 178.

[7] *Ibid*., p. 178.

[8] *Ibid*., p. 182.

As previously noted, the Indian treaties involved relations between the whites and the Indians, and reflected little concern with the state of affairs between the different tribes. As an illustration, De Trobriand described a situation in which a band of Sioux Indians who were camping near Fort Sully, were preparing to make an expedition against the Ree (Arikara) Indians. Since both sides were friends with the United States, the military was not supposed to get involved in the quarrel, partly because there was nothing to lose by having the Indians destroying each other. In spite of this, De Trobriand notified the Three Tribes of the attack so they could prepare for it.[2]

Three years after Chief White Shield made a plea for guns in his speech of July 2, 1864,[3] Agent Wilkinson criticized the order to the commanders of military posts prohibiting the sale of ammunition to the Indians on the frontier in his reports of June 15, 1867. He pointed out that the "Sioux were well supplied with arms and ammunition from traders from the British country, while friendly Indians are not allowed to buy it from their own traders."[4] This plea was repeated in the annual reports of 1868,[1] 1869,[2] and 1870.[3] In 1871, the problem of lack of guns and ammunition was alleviated when the members of the Three Tribes were armed with French rifles and 58 caliber ammunition making it possible for them to ward off an attack on May 22, by the Sioux.[4] This apparently solved the raiding problems.

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[1] Ibid., p. 180.

[2] De Trobriand, op. cit., p. 44.

[3] Chief White Shield, op. cit., p. 264.

[4] Mahlon Wilkinson, Agent, Fort Berthold. Annual Report of the Commissioner Indian Affairs. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1867, p. 237.

Morals of Agents

The morals of the traders and the military personnel of the Fort Berthold area were described by De Trobriand in the following quotation:

> There are no white women in Berthold, nor in any other non-military post in the country. Each white man takes an Indian woman with whom he lives and who keeps house for him, and bears him children who hardly ever speak any language but that of the mother, and who remain in the tribe if the father, which is rare, should leave the country. The great ambition of a young squaw is to become the wife of a white man, for she is infinitely better treated than if she were the wife of no matter what Indian. She is not subjected to the fatiguing labor, which, in Indian life, makes of the women veritable beasts of burden, cultivating the land, bearing the heavy burdens, caring for the horses, etc. With a white man she is better dressed, better cared for, better fed. The loss of all these advantages in the bettering of her condition by the choice of a white man, would make her return to a redskin a veritable disaster from every point of view. Hence they are a submissive, attentive, industrious, taking good care of their children and the father of their children, and he, tranquil, well served and well cared for in his inner-man, goes about his business without feeling any necessity for a change. Perhaps, in time, he may take a second and younger companion; but without casting off the first, and the household proceeds calmly to function without internal discord to trouble the habitual peace.[5]

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[1] Wilkinson, 1868, op. cit., p. 192.

[2] Clifford, 1869, op. cit., p. 312.

[3] Clifford, 1870, op. cit., p. 210.

[4] John E. Tappen, Agent, Fort Berthold. Annual Report of the Commissioner Indian Affairs. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1871, pp. 520-21.

[5] De Trobriand, op. cit., pp. 66-67.

De Trobriand also presented a typical example of the manner in which many of the agents treated the Indians in the November 1, 1867, entry in his diary:

> Beauchamp (a French-Canadian interpreter) has come from Berthold... I have learned from him that the Indians of the Three Tribes have been shamefully robbed by the agent charged with the distribution of their annual presents. This thing is nothing out of the ordinary: one might even say that it is the general custom on the frontiers. If one went to the bottom of the matter one would find that the hostilities of most of the tribes and the troubles which result from them are merely the consequences of the shameful bad faith with which the agents steal from them the greater part of the annuities which the government sends them.

De Trobriand related further that the agent (Wilkinson) had held in the warehouse for several months the annuities and presents intended for the Indians. When the distribution was finally made the boxes and containers had been broken into and were only partly full. Some sacks of flour marked by the government seal had been replaced by unmarked sacks of condemned flour, leavings from the trader's warehouse. The Indians were aware of what was going on, as they could watch the unloading of the boats from the dock. The next time a boat arrived they counted the number of sacks and boxes and requested that distribution be made on the spot, thus guaranteeing them their full share. However, the agent again ordered that all merchandise be put in the warehouse. Under the circumstances, White Shield, chief of the Rees, refused to sign for the goods. The agent was furious and declared White Shield deposed as chief, saying: "My friend, you are getting too old; age troubles your brain and you talk and act like an old fool." The great Arickara Chief replied sternly: "I am old it is true; but not so old as not to see things as they are. And even if, as you say, I were only an old fool, I would prefer a hundred times to be an honest red fool than a stealing white rascal like you."

De Trobriand concluded that:

> Agents of the Indian Bureau are nothing but members of a vast association of thieves who make their fortune at the expense of the redskins and to the detriment of the Government. They accept an annual salary of $1500.00 and, at the end of a few years, they return to the States, having made their fortunes. That fact calls for no further comment.[1]

Charles Larpenteur also commented on the character of the Indian agents he met when they visited Fort Union:

> Major Sanford was very much of a gentleman, but cared more for the interests of the American Fur Company than for Indian affairs. He afterward married Pierre Chouteau's daughter, and one can judge in whose favor his reports would likely to be made.
>
> Major More was a great drunkard, who came up to Union in the steamer, remained 24 hours, and returned to Fort Pierre. It was reported by a person whom I believe, that the Indians there kicked his stern, taking him for a dog, when he was crawling out of the room where they had been sleeping, and laughingly said they were very sorry that they had kicked their father.
>
> Major Dripps was, I believe, a good, honest old beaver trapper, He was sent to examine the trading posts, to find out about the liquor trade. He sent his interpreter ahead to let us know he was coming. On his arrival he looked in all places except in the cellar. where there was upward of 30 barrels of alcohol. The major was afterward equipped by the American Fur Company, and went on the Platte, where he died.
>
> Major Vaughan was a jovial old fellow, who had a very fine paunch for brandy, and, when he could not get brandy, would take almost anything which would make drunk come. He was one who remained most of the time with his Indians, but what accounts for this is the fact that he had a pretty young squaw for a wife; and as he received many favors from the Company, his reports must have been in their favor.
>
> Major Latta was a pretty fair kind of a man, but the less said of him the better. He came up to Union, put the annuities out on the bar, and next day was off.
>
> Major Mahlon Wilkinson came as near doing the right thing as was in his power, but he was too lazy to do much of anything.

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[1] *Ibid.*, pp. 134-140.

> From what I have been able to learn I fully believe that all the Indian agents were of the same material; and had those men been ever so well qualified to fill their office, they could not have done it under the existing rules and regulations. Once in the Indian country they came entirely under the influence of the American Fur Company, and could not help themselves.
>
> Those gentlemen were appointed by the Indian Department not only as agents, but as fathers to the Indians; to remain with their children, and to make true reports to their Great Father at Washington of the behavior of the Indians and of all transactions in their country that come to the agent's notice, thus keeping the department well posted. The question is, was that done? No; evidence shows the contrary. In consequence of this bad state of affairs, the department remained ignorant of the true condition of the country, and could never hold the proper kind of council with the Indians; and, finally, war broke out.[1]

It should be noted above that the Indian Agent whom De Trobriand reported as a thief was considered by Mr. Larpenteur as the best of the lot. Inconsistent with De Trobriand's evidence was Agent Wilkinson's report on September 30, 1868: "I made the annual distribution of annuities to these Indians in September; they were entirely satisfied."[2] Apparently, the reports of both Larpenteur and De Trobriand contained a grain of truth; if Wilkinson was one of the better agents, one might ask, "How bad were some of the others?"

On September 9, 1867, A. J. Faulk, Governor and ex-officio Superintendent of Indian Affairs, Dakota Superintendency, reporting to N. G. Taylor, Commissioner of Indian Affairs presented another view of Indian discontent over the amounts of goods received by the Indians which illustrated the rationale of the Indian Bureau:

> Much of the poverty, suspicion and dishonesty, and discontent,

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[1] Elliot Coues, ed. Forty Years a Fur Trader on the Upper Missouri. The Personal Narrative of Charles Larpenteur, 1833-1872. New York: Francis P. Harper, 1898, pp. 412-419.

[2] Mahlon Wilkinson, Agent, Fort Berthold. Annual Report Commissioner Indian Affairs. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1868, p. 192.

on Indian reservations, have been the result of the enormous depreciation of government money during the recent rebellion in the south; the Indians scarcely realizing the benefit of one third of the annuities to which they were justly entitled from this cause alone.[1]

The army moved to its new location at Fort Stevenson in 1866, leaving the Fort Berthold buildings available for other uses. In 1868, Agent Wilkinson moved his office from South Dakota to the Fort, and the Three Tribes had their first full time Indian agent living among them.[2] The troops constituted the first large scale white contact with the tribes over a considerable period of time, and the location of the agency on the reservation, probably had an equal impact on the Indian culture.

Schools and Missionaries

The third major influence during this period was the establishment of schools. On May 31, 1871, Principal H. L. Clifford reported to the Indian Agent, J. E. Tappen of Fort Berthold Agency that a school had been opened on December 1, 1870, with 38 pupils--twenty-two girls and sixteen boys. The average attendance was 27, mostly boys. After winter was over, the teacher had trouble inducing the students to continue to attend classes. To encourage regular attendance, one meal a day was furnished during the spring months. Since the classroom was needed for other purposes, Tappen closed the school at the end of May, thus ending the first school experience for the Fort Berthold Indians.[3]

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[1] A. J. Faulk, Governor and ex-Officio Sup't. of Indian Affairs. Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1867, p. 227.

[2] Robinson, op. cit., pp. 102-105.

[3] John E. Tappen, Agent, Fort Berthold. Annual Report Commissioner Indian Affairs. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1871, pp. 524-525.

The next attempt to open another school was in December of 1873, and according to Agent L. B. Sperry, it "proved to be quite a success." The average attendance during the winter was twenty-five boys and twenty girls. The summer months found the attendance more irregular due to attraction of outdoor sports for the boys and demands for labor made upon the girls. As to the students' progress he relates that about 40 could read in the primary reader, 25 were in their alphabet, twelve could read "a little" and at least twenty were making good progress in adding arithmetic. Sperry hired an assistant teacher who "has added to the attendance and interest by meeting the school-girls, and sometimes their mothers, for instruction in cutting and making dresses and underclothing."[1]

This second attempt to provide a school for the members of the Three Tribes was also destined to end in failure, but for a different reason. In his annual report, dated September 1, 1875, Sperry reported that the agency buildings burned down on October 12, 1874, and as of the following September had not been reopened. However, new agency buildings had been built during the summer and on August 8, 1875, were accepted, with plans to reopen in October.[2]

C. W. Darling, the new agent, noted on September 8, 1876, that the school was opened in December, 1875. There were 77 names on the register with an average daily attendance of twenty. The school room was too small but the students were bright and quick to learn. "The success of the school was largely due to the patience and perseverance of Miss Hannah Briggs, the teacher, who was untiring in her efforts to teach cleanliness as well as letters."[1]

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[1] L. B. Sperry, Agent. Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1874, p. 244.

[2] Ibid., p. 242.

Mr. Darling commented that winter quarters were a serious problem for the Fort Berthold Indians and that part of the education enrollment could have its roots there:

> Soon after crops are secured, each tribe starts out parties to get their winter-quarters in readiness for the reception of the balance of the tribe. This annual emigration is a necessity on account of the scarcity of fuel. The Gros Ventre camp is twenty-five miles from the agency, near the mouth of the Little Missouri River; Mandans, fifteen miles; Arickarees, twelve miles. All, or nearly all, leave the village during the winter.[2]

Darling's 1876 report included one of the most important events which was to occur in the history of the education of the Three Tribes:

> On the ninth day of May, Rev. C. L. Hall and wife arrived at this agency as missionaries, sent out by the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. Since then, there has been church service every Sabbath, conducted in the Dakota language, and as most of these people understand it, they get along very nicely. Mr. Hall's time has nearly all been taken this summer in building a mission-house near the village, which is nearly completed, and will answer for the present the combined purpose of dwelling, church, and school. The board has spent nearly $3,000 in all on the work. They propose to make a permanent station here. Their main effort will be to induce the Indians to become Christian men and women. They will, however, co-operate with the agent and Government in all efforts to bring the Indians to an industrious life, and in keeping up a day or any other school. There has been but a feeble attempt heretofore made to educate or Christianize these people. The result of the present effort, begun under the cloud of war, may be told at a future time.[3]

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[1] C. W. Darling, Agent. Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1876, pp. 30-31.

[2] Ibid., p. 30

[3] Ibid., pp. 30-31.

SUMMARY

Anthropologist Alfred W. Bowers made a study of the Mandan and Hidatsa Indian Tribes for his Doctor's thesis.[1] He felt that these tribes, as differentiated from other plains Indians, were able to preserve their native agricultural social systems with no basic change up to the time they were forced to live on a reservation. As a result, they were very conservative as well as resistant to changes. He further stated that disease, not warfare, was the major factor in the loss of population, but the loss of population did not appreciably alter their social institutions. The first important threat to these values and beliefs was seen to be the close association with the white culture, especially with the coming of the educational and religious groups which were reinforced by the government's monopoly on the Indians' means of subsistence.[2]

Little is known concerning the origins of the Mandan, Hidatsa, or Arikara Indians except for the knowledge obtained from archeological and linguistic sources. La Verendrye was the first non-Indian to leave a recorded first hand description and his writings marked the beginning of white contact with the tribes.

These three Indian tribes were independently strong and powerful before their initial white cultural contact. By the end of the period under consideration, they had deteriorated to the point of extreme dependency upon the white population and were engaged in a desperate fight for survival. Since disease was the primary cause of their loss of population, and, since the Mandans tended to live in denser communities than the other two tribes, they were the hardest hit by epidemics. Toward the end of the 19th century, the Mandans were practically extinct in terms of blood lines, due to intermarriage with other tribal members as well as with the whites. By this time, their distinctive society had already undergone radical change as a result of culture contact situations.[1] However, all three of the Fort Berthold Indian Tribes had reasonably similar cultural inventories; in addition, they cooperated with each other for defense, lived in villages, engaged in trade with surrounding tribes, and honored their peace obligations with the non-Indians. They were not nomadic, but engaged in trade and horticulture during good times and in hunting on the grasslands during the periods of drouth.[2]

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[1] Alfred W. Bowers. A History of the Mandan and Hidatsa, (unpublished PhD. thesis). Chicago: University of Chicago, June, 1948.

[2] Ibid.

The Fort Berthold Indians lived in earth lodges, some being seventy-five feet long and thirty-five feet wide.[3] They developed social norms to facilitate contact with other tribes and these norms were adaptable to the conditions arising from culture contact with the white man, making it possible to have a history of peaceful coexistence with all people who visited and traded with them.[4]

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[1] Edward M. Bruner. "Mandan," in Edward H. Spicer, (ed.)., Perspectives in American Indian Culture Change. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1961, p. 187.

[2] Ibid., pp. 193-194.

[3] Alfred W. Bowers. Mandan Social and Ceremonial Organization. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1950, p. 60.

[4] Bruner, op. cit., p. 201.

Until the establishment of the military post at Fort Berthold in 1864, and the permanent agency headquarters in 1868, the major white influence on these tribes was through the fur trader. Direct cultural contact was greatly increased with the opening of of the first government school in 1870, and with the arrival of the first missionary in 1874.

The history of the members of the Three Tribes was discussed up to the time of the establishment of their first permanent mission and the opening of their first public and private schools. Areas to be examined in the next chapter will include the development of new social forms which were generated by the interaction which was beginning to occur between the Fort Berthold people and governmental officials, the local white population, and non-Indian institutions such as church, school, and advanced technology.

CHAPTER IV

HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT FROM THE 1870'S THROUGH THE 1940'S

The Three Tribes gained a certain degree of respect from the Government officials and traders by refusing to join with the Sioux and other hostile tribes in their effort to drive the whites from their territory during the Indian wars of the 1850's and 1860's. After the troops were garrisoned at Fort Berthold in 1864 and at Fort Stevenson in 1865, the army regularly employed some members of the Three Tribes as scouts and in other capacities, giving them a first hand view of a differing culture. In his annual report for 1871, Agent Tappen reported that "twenty-six of the Indians of this agency are employed by the Government at Forts Stevenson and Bedford as scouts, and give good satisfaction."[1]

The size of the reservations throughout the United States was generally suited to the needs of Indians in a roving state who engaged in hunting and fishing as their main source of subsistence. Because the Three Tribes engaged in agricultural pursuits, they were only partially dependent upon hunting and gathering for their sustenance. On the other hand, during the Indian wars, the hostile Indians were able to secure the latest type of firearms from the British in Canada by virtue of the fur trade. The Fort Berthold Indian did not have furs to trade and therefore could not obtain guns and ammunition in this way. This left them unable to defend their hunting grounds and since their agriculture could not supply staples such as meat for food and fiber for clothing, they became dependent upon the Government for many of their survival needs. F. A. Walker, the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, noted in his report of 1871 that "we have received the soil from them, and we have extinguished their only means of subsistence."[1] If the Fort Berthold Indians were to survive, it could only be accomplished by some combination of direct governmental subsidy to tide them over until they could change their modes of making a living. This gave the schools and churches an increasingly important role in the Indians' lives.

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[1] John E. Tappen, Agent, Fort Berthold. Annual Report Commissioner Indian Affairs. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1871, p. 522.

The lot of the Indian woman was one of constant toil. Agent John Tappen requested, in 1872, that the Government furnish some wagons and harnesses. "They would be used for hauling wood, water, hay, and their crops, all of which now are packed on squaws, and, with the exception of the water, are carried any distance within four miles. This might have a tendency to elevate the squaws a few degrees above a beast of burden."[2]

Adaption to western cultural patterns was a painful process for these people. It could be expected that a society which could withstand the forces which produced the "horse culture" as seen among the Sioux and other plains Indians, would also be able to resist the type of changes being introduced by the encroaching white settlers.

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[1] F. A. Walker, Commissioner of Indian Affairs. Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1872, p. 13.

[2] John Tappen, op. cit., 1871, p. 522.

Preliterate peoples have traditionally resisted change by refusing to alter the nature of their institutions. However, the impact of technological elements tends to force changes to occur in the values which support this technology, thus gradually promoting changes in the institutions themselves.[1] The introduction of the white man's products (technology) had the effect of creating conflicts within the culture of the Fort Berthold Indians. Education and religion temporatily compounded these inter-tribal problems, but helped to promote intra-tribal progress.

That a dependency relationship between the Fort Berthold Tribes and the Federal Government had been established as early as 1870 was seen in the report of John A. Burbank, Governor and ex officio Superintendent, Indian Affairs, in his report to E. J. Parker, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, when he stated that the members of the Three Tribes believe "it is the intention of the Department to feed them, or at least those of them that cannot get away for the winter hunt."[2] He suggested that these tribes showed marked contrast with the conduct of other tribes; that failure to carry out promises caused them to lose confidence in persons making them, but not in the Government itself.

F. A. Walker, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, in his annual report of 1872, presented the view of the Government when he suggested that to carry on an Indian war would require expenditures of large amounts of money and men and that the reservation system, together with the feeding system which appealed to "their indolence and self-indulgence," was the best way to handle the Indian problem.[1]

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[1] Gehard Lenski. Human Societies. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1970, pp. 95-105.

[2] John A. Burbank, Governor and ex officio Superintendent, Indian Affairs. Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1870, p. 209.

Mr. Walker felt that if the Indians were "reduced to the condition of suppliants for charity" they would be better off than to be crushed, as they would be, if they were to stand up against the progress of civilization and industry.

> They must yield or perish; and there is something that savors of providential mercy in the rapidity with which their fate advances upon them, leaving them scarcely the chance to resist before they shall be surrounded and disarmed....
>
> Can any principle of national morality be clearer than that, when the expansion and development of a civilized race involve the rapid destruction of the only means of subsistence possessed by the members of a less fortunate race, the higher is bound as of simple right to provide for the lower some substitute for the means of subsistence which it has destroyed. That substitute is, of course, best realized, not by systematic gratuities of food and clothing continued beyond a present emergency, but by directing these people to new pursuits which shall be consistent with the progress of civilization upon the continent; helping them over the first rough places on "the white man's road," and meanwhile, supplying such subsistence as is absolutely necessary during the period of initiation and experiment.
>
> Just as soon as these tribes cease to be formidable, they should be brought distinctly to the realization of the law that if they would eat they must also work.[2]

As a substitute for the loss of the buffalo, the Government began to furnish beef cattle to the Fort Berthold Indians. Agent, John E. Tappen, reported in 1873, that on August 14 of that year three hundred head of beef cattle were received and hoped that they would be of great assistance during the long and dreary winter. He also recommended that the Government assist the Indians "to open and cultivate large patches or fields...and adopt a judicious system of rewards for the encouragement of the industrious."[1]

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[1] F. A. Walker, Commissioner. Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1872, p. 6.

[2] Ibid., pp. 7-11.

ALLOTMENT PERIOD 1884-1900

CONGRESSIONAL ACTS CONCERNING INDIANS

The Appropriation Act of March 3, 1871, provided for the termination of treaty making with Indian tribes and for the withdrawal of the power to make contracts involving the payment of money for services relative to Indian lands or claims against the United States unless such contracts were approved by the Commissioner of Indian Affairs or the Secretary of the Interior. This ban applied to both noncitizen Indians and the Indian tribes, depriving them of the right of free choice of counsel for the redress of injuries. The decade of the 1870's:

> . . . marked the first decade in which the growth of Federal Indian law was a matter of legislation rather than of treaty. The decade is marked by a steady increase in statutory powers vested in the officials of the Indian Service and by a steady increasing of control of Indians and Indian tribes.[2]

The Appropriation Acts of June 22, 1874, and of March 3, 1875, provided that Indian creditors of the United States must perform useful labor as a condition of receiving payments of money or goods which the

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[1] John E. Tappen, Agent. *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs*. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1873, p. 236.

[2] Cohen, *op. cit.*, p. 114.

United States was pledged to make.[1] If enforced, all annuities could be witheld pending proof of work.

The most important statute of the 1880's was the passage of the General Allotment Act, frequently referred to as the Dawes Act, (see pages 71-73, Chapter II) on February 8, 1887, which aimed to break up tribal life, enable the Indian to acquire the benefits of civilization, and promote the best interests of the whites.[2] The period was also marked by the rapid settlement and development of the West. Legislation was passed providing for acquisition of lands and resources from the Indians and this was ethically justified in the theory of assimilation which argued that:

> If the Indian would only adopt the habits of civilized life he would not need so much land and the surplus would be available for white settlers. The process of allotment and civilization was deemed as important for Indian welfare as for the welfare of non-Indians.[3]

NON-INDIAN DEVELOPMENT

The railroads which were built across this territory in the 1870's and 1880's spearheaded the arrival of new settlers in the Dakota Territory. The Northern Pacific Railroad was completed to Bismarck on June 3, 1873,[4] and was extended west to the Pacific in 1883.[5] Great Northern Railroad pushed across the northern portion of North

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[1] Ibid., p. 114.

[2] Ibid., pp. 116-117.

[3] Cohen, op. cit., p. 78.

[4] Elwyn B. Robinson. History of North Dakota. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1960, p. 127.

[5] Ibid., p. 142.

Dakota and into Great Falls, Montana, in 1877.[1] By 1887, the "Great Dakota Boom"[2] was in full swing and the census of 1890 found that North Dakota has increased in population more than one thousand per cent from an estimated 16,000 to 191,000 in twenty years. The region was producing millions of bushels of wheat for the flour mills of Minneapolis and was served by 2,093 miles of railroad.[3] Immigrants "who came to North Dakota to acquire land might buy it from the Northern Pacific Railroad or from the Federal Government, or they might secure it free by making certain improvements under the terms of the Homestead and Timber Culture Acts."[4] The Omnibus Bill of February 22, 1889, authorized the framing of constitutions in North Dakota, South Dakota, Montana, and Washington,[5] marking the entry of these States into the Union as separate States.

Evidence of the gradual encroachment of the whites on the reservation was found in the report of Abraham Gifford, Agent at Fort Berthold in 1885 when he said:

> Great consternation has arisen among the Indians during the past year from the fact of so many white men settling on or near the reservation, and as there are no marks of survey it is almost impossible to tell whether they are on the reservation or not. The Indians regard this whole section of country as theirs, and in the absence of surveyors' marks of boundary it is difficult to impress upon them the true boundary, and they imagine

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[1] Ibid., p. 142.

[2] Ibid., p. 132.

[3] Ibid., p. 143.

[4] Ibid., p. 148.

[5] Ibid., p. 203.

> that gradually their reserve is fast falling into the hands of the whites without their knowledge or consent.[1]

The various losses and additions to the land base of the Fort Berthold Reservation during this period are listed below (see maps, pp. 148-149).

1) *Fort Laramie Treaty*. The United States approved the Fort Laramie Treaty which recognized the territory of the Fort Berthold Indians as a reservation. The ruling of 1930 confirmed that this treaty conferred good title to the Fort Berthold Indians (see p. 148).

2) *The Executive Order of Fort Buford*. This order of 1868 took out 98,600 acres from the Reservation for the Fort Buford Military Post (see Area B, p. 149).

3) *Executive Order of 1870*. This executive order declared the boundaries of the Reservation. It cut out the southeastern portions and added a strip along the northeastern bank of the Missouri River (see Areas E and F, P. 149).

4) *Executive Order of 1880*. This executive order cut out the southern portion of the Reservation and added more land north of the River (see Areas A, G and H, p. 149).

5) *1891 Agreement*. As a result of Congress action to reduce reservations in 1886, an agreement was reached with the tribes to cede their lands north of the 48th parallel and west of a certain line. This was ratified in 1891 with the stipulation that the lands shall be held as a reservation (see Areas C and H, p. 149).

6) *Executive Order of 1892*. This order added part of Township 147, Range 87 to the Reservation. Within this tract were located the ruins of the Fort Berthold village and burial grounds[2] (see Area I, p. 149).

As a result of these changes, the Fort Berthold Indian Reservation is presently confined to Areas D, F, G and I (see maps, pp. 148-149).

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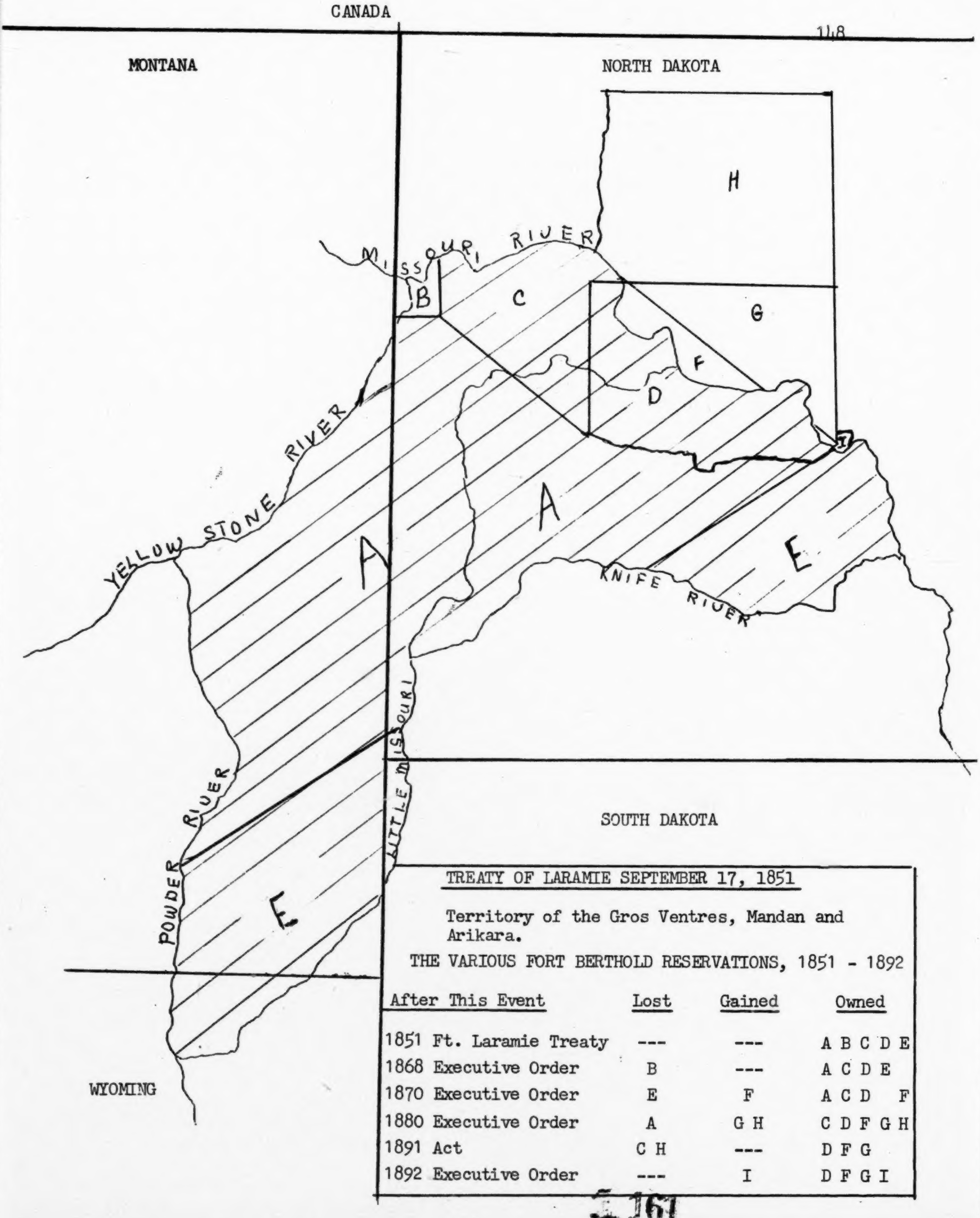
[1] Abraham Gifford, Agent. *Annual Reports of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs*. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1885, p. 30.

[2] The Three Affiliated Tribes of the Fort Berthold Reservation, et. al., appellant, v. the United States of America, appellee. Appeal Number 2-66, filed May 12, 1967, Charles H. Hobbs, Attorney of Record for appellant, pp. 15-21.

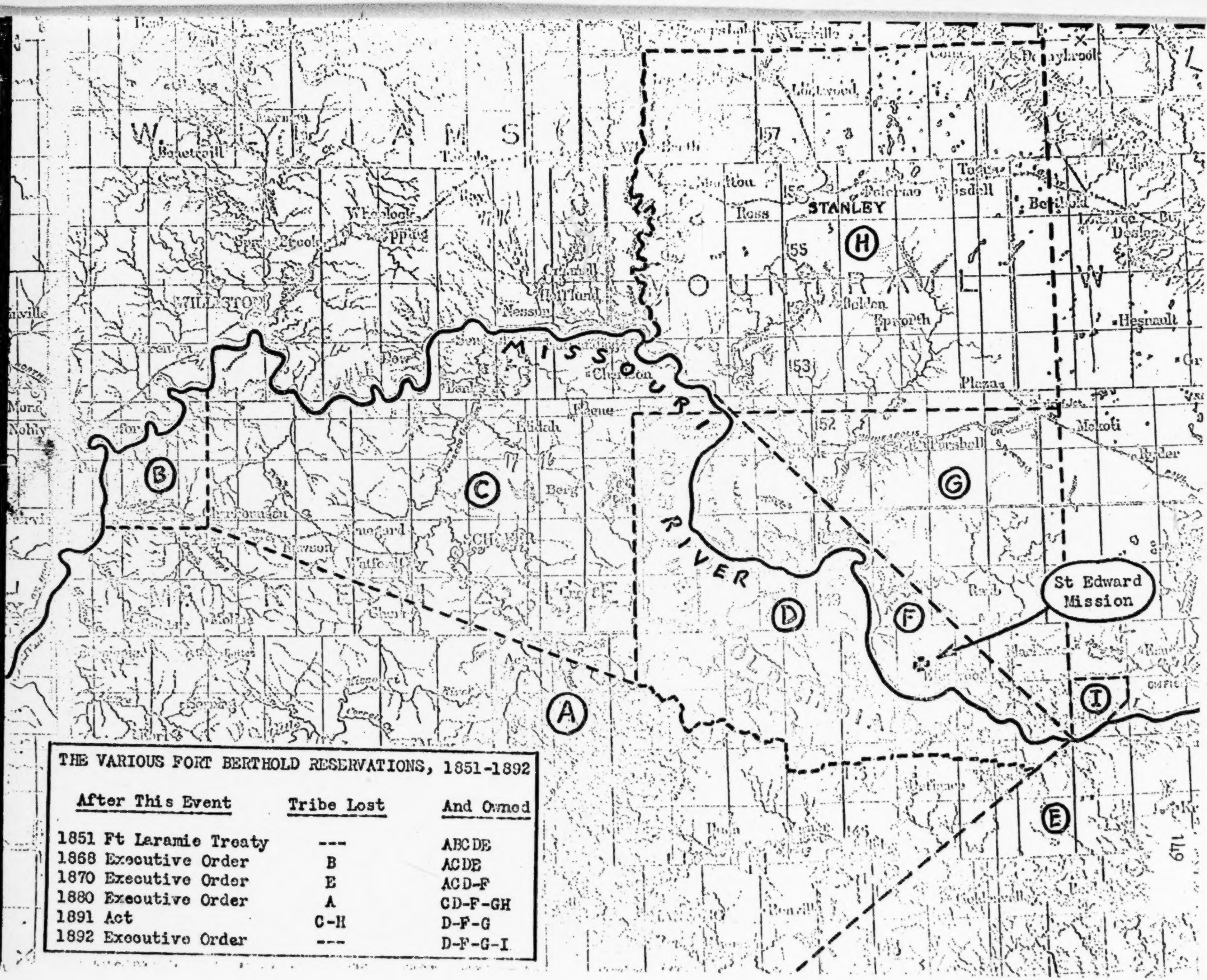

CANADA
MONTANA
NORTH DAKOTA
H
MISSOURI RIVER
B
C
G
F
D
I
YELLOW STONE RIVER
A
A
E
KNIFE RIVER
LITTLE MISSOURI
POWDER RIVER
E
SOUTH DAKOTA
WYOMING

TREATY OF LARAMIE SEPTEMBER 17, 1851

Territory of the Gros Ventres, Mandan and Arikara.

THE VARIOUS FORT BERTHOLD RESERVATIONS, 1851 - 1892

After This Event	Lost	Gained	Owned
1851 Ft. Laramie Treaty	---	---	A B C D E
1868 Executive Order	B	---	A C D E
1870 Executive Order	E	F	A C D F
1880 Executive Order	A	G H	C D F G H
1891 Act	C H	---	D F G
1892 Executive Order	---	I	D F G I


St Edward Mission
MISSOURI RIVER
A
B
C
D
E
F
G
H
I
STANLEY
Ross
Belden
Epworth
Plaza
Hesnault
Mokoti
Berthold
Williston
Nesson
Wheelock
Epping
Berg

THE VARIOUS FORT BERTHOLD RESERVATIONS, 1851-1892

After This Event	Tribe Lost	And Owned
1851 Ft Laramie Treaty	---	ABCDE
1868 Executive Order	B	ACDE
1870 Executive Order	E	ACD-F
1880 Executive Order	A	CD-F-GH
1891 Act	C-H	D-F-G
1892 Executive Order	---	D-F-G-I

EARLY INDUSTRY TO 1900

The Indians at Fort Berthold had developed a culture in which they lived in villages, cultivated gardens, and depended on wild game, especially buffalo, for their meat. Some of the land surrounding Fort Berthold was more suitable for grazing than cultivation due to constant droughts and grasshopper plagues. The Indians probably would have adapted more readily to a herding society with supplemental farming than to an agrarian system, but the thrust of the Indian agency was towards the encouragement of grain farming and gardening. The Government established a demonstration farm on which several of the Indians were given employment and from which harvested crops were distributed to tribal members.

The Indian Bureau also instituted a program which was designed to force all able bodied males to labor by issuing supplies directly to each family instead of to the chiefs for division by them. This policy had the long term effect of undermining the tribal authority and increasing the dependency of the individual family on the Federal Government.[1] In his annual report for 1877, Agent Alden reported that the Fort Berthold agency had 100 acres cultivated by the Government and 600 acres cultivated by the Indians; they produced 8,000 bushels of corn, 4,100 bushels of vegetables and 300 tons of hay; they sawed 30,000 board feet of lumber; they owned 1,000 head of horses, four mules, and ten head of cattle; and Alden estimated that twelve per cent of their labor was in "civilized" pursuits.[1]

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[1] Sperry, op. cit., 1874, pp. 243-244. Sperry, op. cit., 1875, p. 241. C. W. Darling, Agent. Reports of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1876, p. 43.

Two of the major considerations of the Indian Bureau during this period involved the problem of how to get the male Indian to do manual labor and how to make him self supporting. It was felt that very little permanent good could be accomplished as long as they lived so closely together in their villages. Acting agent, William Courtenay, in his report of 1879 stated that:

> Indians are essentially conservative and cling tenaciously to old customs and hate all changes: therefore the government should force them to scatter out on farms, break up their tribal organization, dances, ceremonies, and tom-foolery; take from them their hundreds of useless ponies, which afford them the means of indulging in their wandering, nomadic habits, and give them cattle in exchange, and compel them to labor or accept the alternative of starvation.[2]

Mr. Courtenay indicated that the male Indians were gradually learning that labor was not degrading. For an indication of this observation, he stated that he was experiencing no difficulty in getting farm hands and teamsters from the Indian village when required. The Government was also engaging in the practice of plowing the soil for the Indians in an effort to persuade them to farm larger holdings. They also furnished wagons to those who were cooperating with the objectives of the agency.

By 1881, Agent Jacob Kauffman reported that the Indians cultivated 580 acres divided in 255 allotments and that they had grown wheat, corn, potatoes, oats, millet, and hay.[1] In 1882, Kauffman gave an account of the growth of the trend toward farming whereby "twenty Indian men, heads of families, have consented to go this fall 22 miles west from the agency, build houses, and remain to farm 133 acres land which I had broken this summer."[2] By 1884, Kauffman stated that there were 870 acres of land cultivated by the Indians. They produced 8,000 bushels of wheat, 6,250 bushels of corn, 6,000 bushels of barley, 375 bushels of beans and 7,500 bushels of vegetables. In addition, they owned 475 head of horses, eight mules and 64 head of cattle.[3]

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[1] E. H. Alden, Agent. Reports of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1877, pp. 306-307.

[2] William Courtenay, Agent. Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1879, p. 30.

Eight years later, in 1892, Agent Jno. S. Murphy reported that the Three Tribes had 2,000 acres of land under cultivation, 2,700 acres fenced, no families actually living upon and cultivating lands allotted in severalty, but had 309 families engaged in farming or other civilized pursuits. They raised 13,000 bushels of wheat, 8,000 bushels of barley, 3,000 bushels of corn and 5,300 bushels of vegetables. The Indians sold $5,626 worth of products to the Government and $7,500 to others. They owned 1,137 head of horses and mules, 1,491 cattle and three swine.[4] Commissioner T. J. Morgan announced in his report of 1892 that the land surveys of the Fort Berthold Reservation, preliminary to allotments, had been commenced.[1] Four years later, 1896, Commissioner Browning reported that the allotments to the Indians of the Fort Berthold Reservation were nearly completed, about 750 allotments having been made.[2]

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[1] Jacob Kauffman, Agent. Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1881, p. 36.

[2] Ibid., 1882, p. 23.

[3] Jacob Kauffman, Agent. Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1884, pp. 352-353.

[4] Jno. S. Murphy, Agent. Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1892, pp. 810-811.

Agent Thomas Richards reported a drought in 1900; that only 3.66 inches of rain fell during the months of April, May, and June. By this time the Indians had 1,690 acres of land under cultivation, 1,350 acres under fence, and 337 families living upon and cultivating lands allotted in severalty. They raised 150 bushels of wheat, 40 bushels of oats, barley and rye, 1,200 bushels of corn, 1,350 bushels of vegetables and sold over $20,000 worth of products. In addition they owned 2,058 head of horses and mules, 3,809 head of cattle and eight swine. Considerable progress was being made toward the change from their original orientation of a hunting and gathering culture to an agricultural economy. Richards summed up their situation when he said:

> While considerable progress in civilization is noticeable every year, these people are far from self-supporting. As a rule they are industrious and anxious to better their condition, but many things are against them. The country is not adapted to agricultural pursuits, one good crop in seven or eight years being the usual result. Severe winter storms scatter their cattle, and frequently many head perish. The young generation is pushing rapidly to the front and shows greater ambition in its efforts to become independent than the older members of the tribe.
>
> The "blanket Indian" has disappeared from this reservation. A few of the older people wear a semicivilized costume, but the majority have donned the garb of the white man. The young men are able to transact all necessary business without the

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[1] Ibid., p. 67.

[2] D. M. Browning, Commissioner. Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1896, p. 19.

assistance of a third party. They take great pride in being able to write, and lose no opportunity to show their ability.[1]

SCHOOLS

Day Schools--1875-1896

Miss Hannah Briggs was the teacher who opened the government school in December, 1875, in Rev. Hall's private home and the average attendance of twenty pupils was as many as could be conveniently accommodated. Two years later, Agent Alden, in his report of 1877, stated that a new school house, 28 by 56, equipped with folding doors, had been erected. "The Gros Ventres and Mandans, who can understand the Dakota language, will occupy one room, and the Arickarees the other."[2] The building would be ready for occupation as soon as the desks could be purchased and put in position, and the painting completed. He recommended that another teacher be employed at once, who could speak the Dakota language. The following year, 1878, Alden noted that the "new and commodious school-house, occupied since December, has been nicely painted, grained, and seated; and an additional teacher, furnished by the American Missionary Society of the Congregational Church, has taught the Gros Ventres and Mandans, leaving the Rees (who nearly equal the other two tribes in number, and will not associate with them) for the government teacher."[3] The new teacher who was furnished by the

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[1] Thomas Richards, Agent. Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1900, pp. 665-666, 313-316.

[2] E. H. Alden, Agent. Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1877, p. 60.

[3] E. H. Alden, Agent. Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1878, p. 33.

American Board was Myra Calhoun, a younger sister of Emma Calhoun, wife of the missionary, Rev. C. L. Hall.[1]

(It was interesting to note the difference between reporting and reality in school matters of that period). Jacob Kauffman, in his report of 1880, stated that "the government supports one school at this agency, which, under the supervision of Miss Patterson, now Mrs. Courtnay, has, during the past year, shown great improvement." He listed the number of pupils enrolled during the year at 118, the largest average monthly attendance as 24, and the seasonal average attendance at 18.8.[2] But, if the reports of Agent Alden (previously cited) were correct, there was an actual drop in the school attendance since Hannah Briggs had an average attendance of 20 pupils in the one room school. The difference was probably due to a change in Kauffman's philosophy concerning what and how to teach. The first school had attempted to use the Indian's native tongue for instruction, but by 1880, this attitude had changed so completely that Kauffman could say "the English language is taught exclusively in the school, which I believe is the proper language to be taught in an Indian school."[3] He further observed that:

> I feel that if we had the means to put up suitable buildings for a boarding school, and get the children of school age away from the village, where all the families of the agency are

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[1] C. L. Hall. *Hall Papers*. Bismarck: North Dakota State Historical Society.

[2] Jacob Kauffman, Agent. *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs*. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1880, p. 32.

[3] *Ibid*.

> congregated, with all the unfavorable influences of these associations, we could make more marked and much more lasting and rapid progress in education and civilization with these Indians.[1]

Mr. Kauffman was apparently sensing that something was wrong with a day school which was being taught in English and reasoned that if the children could be separated from their parents, the Indian children would be more educable.

In 1885, John H. Oberly, Indian School Superintendent at Washington, submitted his annual report in which he reviewed the school system as it appeared from the federal level. He argued that the day school education of Indian children had brought forth but little good fruit because "the barbarian child of barbarian parents spends possibly six of the twenty-four hours of a day in a school room"[2] where he was taught the rudiments of books and lessons in "good manners." He returned to his home to eat, play, and sleep "after the savage fashion of his race"[3] and he did not acquire a distaste for Indian life nor a liking for the enjoyment of civilized life.

Oberly felt that the boarding school, on the other hand, supplied a civilizing influence where the day school failed since the Indian boy and girl pupils were removed from the "perverting" environment of the Indian camp.

> These schools strip from the unwashed person of the Indian boy the unwashed blanket, and, after instructing him in what to

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[1] Ibid., p. 32.

[2] John H. Oberly, Indian School Superintendent. Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1885, p. CXI.

[3] Ibid.

> him are the mysteries of personal cleanliness, clothe him with the clean garments of civilized men and teach him how to wear them. They give him information concerning a bed and teach him how to use it; teach him how to sit on a chair, how to use knife and fork, how to eat at table, and what to eat. While he is learning these things he is also learning to read and write, and, at the same time, is being taught how to work, how to "earn a living."[1]

He suggested that a farm be connected with these schools so that the boy pupils might become acquainted with agricultural implements and the care of stock and be taught how to plant, cultivate and harvest crops. In addition, they should learn how to build houses, make clothing, boots and shoes, make wagons, do blacksmithing, and butcher cattle. Girls should be taught to cook and sew, use the broom and wash-board, make a bed, nurse the sick, and all kinds of general housework. He felt that the Indian parents of pupils attending boarding-schools would have pride in their progress into civilized manners and methods of life and that this would have a refining influence upon the parents, modifying their savage nature and customs.

Oberly further recommended that a form of compulsory education be adopted for all Indian children and that enough boarding-schools be provided to make sure there was room for every Indian student. He attacked the system whereby the Indian agents were given the power to select and dismiss school teachers and suggested that more power be placed in the hands of the Indian Bureau. The agent was to be relieved of the responsibility for the care of the school property, the efficiency of the employees, and the condition of the school. The superintendent of a school was to furnish proof of good character and pass a prescribed examination as proof of qualifications. The schools were to use textbooks which were developed for Indians and printed by the Government Printing Office since texts used for whites were not adequate for the Indians.[1]

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[1] Ibid., p. CXII.

Fort Stevenson Boarding School

Agent Kauffman had made a recommendation for the establishment of a boarding school in his reports of 1882[2] and 1883.[3] In the meantime, the day school, in the term ending June, 1883, had averaged a daily attendance of 32.4 pupils with Miss Kauffman and Miss Ferris as teachers.

On the 7th of August, 1883, the military post at Fort Stevenson with its buildings and the military reservation had been transferred from the War Department to the Interior Department for the purpose of being fitted up and used for an Indian boarding and industrial school in connection with the Fort Berthold Agency. Agent Kauffman felt that this school would "supply a much needed want in the educational work of his agency, where proper discipline with pupils can be enforced and regular attendance secured.[4]

In Agent Abram J. Gifford's report of 1884 the announcement was made that the boarding-school at Fort Stevenson was opened for reception of pupils on December 17, 1883, with 24 names on the rolls although preparations had been made for 48. Six months later, there were 52 pupils enrolled and he hoped to enlarge the school building to accommodate 150. He anticipated no difficulty in having the full complement before another year. The boys were taught farming and the use of carpenter's tools while the girls were taught cooking, sewing, and household duties in general.[1]

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[1] Ibid., pp. CXI-CXXVII.

[2] Jacob Kauffman, Agent. Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1882, p. 24.

[3] Jacob Kauffman, Agent. Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1883, p. 32.

[4] Ibid., p. 32.

Gifford's report of 1885 noted that the school building at Fort Stevenson had been repaired to accommodate 150 pupils, there were 76 pupils enrolled, but owing to the fact that it was located seventeen miles away from the agency and that so much time was consumed in making visits to the school, the Indians did not pay as much attention as they should have.[2]

In 1886, Gifford announced that since it had been demonstrated that a boarding school was no longer an experiment and since it was impossible for him to give the necessary time to administer the school seventeen miles away, the school had been turned over to G. W. Scott, Superintendent, in October, 1885.[3] Mr. Scott issued a very pessimistic report on the conditions at Fort Stevenson stating that the superintendent had no responsibility and that it would be better if the school had never been organized:

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[1] Gifford, op. cit., 1884, p. 32.

[2] Gifford, op. cit., 1885, p. 31.

[3] Abraham J. Gifford, Agent. Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1886, p. 63.

> The facts as they presented themselves to me upon assuming charge of this school are contrary to those set forth in the report.
>
> The 'irregularity of the domestic concerns of the school' and 'excellent management,' the 'breadmaking' and the 'close superintendence' of the laundress, the 'shirts' and 'occasional suits' which were never made in the sewing-room but shipped by the Indian Office, were 'among the things that were not.' The everlasting quarreling, degrading and nauseating twaddle between employees and pupils, the inherent laziness of the former, the abominably filthy condition of the quarters, the accumulated rubbish around the buildings, the half-cooked food, ...the dilapidated condition of the buildings, following an expenditure of $3,000, and a glossy report thereon, all has had an injurious effect on this school. Instead of being in a healthy, growing condition, it was the reverse.[1]

Superintendent Scott complained that fires were frequently a problem, the floors of many of the buildings having been burned out and the log bakery having completely burned up. In addition, the drought had caused a crop failure, the arrangements for water were poor, and the students had to mine their own coal (150 tons). The school had eighteen head of cattle, twenty hogs and six head of horses. It operated a tin-shop and a blacksmith shop, and taught shoemaking, carpentry and sewing. The school emphasized manual training to teach the Indian to become a producer, not a consumer, giving only a "knowledge of the rudiments of the common school." The highest enrollment at one time was 78 and the average attendance for the year was 71. A major concern to the superintendent was the problem of students running away to their homes.[2]

George E. Gerowe, Superintendent of Fort Stevenson School in 1890 reported that "early in the fiscal year 1888, instructions were issued to the local agent from the Indian Office in Washington to withold the rations from the Indians till the school should be filled."[1] He stated that this plan worked satisfactorily with the average attendance in December being raised to 111 and to 96 for the year. He also called attention to the fact that there were 85 pupils in attendance speaking the Indian language freely, and felt that this was a hindrance to the success and advancement of the school. He had to drive many of the Indian parents off the school grounds repeatedly since they exerted an undue influence over the Indian children. He also reported having difficulty in obtaining children for the school partly because of the competition from the contract or mission school and the Catholic day school.[2]

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[1] George W. Scott, Superintendent, Fort Stevenson Industrial School. Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1886, p. 1.

[2] Ibid., pp. 1-4.

The action of witholding rations was made official with the passage of the Indian Appropriation Bill for the year 1893 which provided that "the Secretary of the Interior may, at his discretion, withold rations, clothing, and other annuities from Indian parents or guardians who refuse or neglect to send and keep their children in some school a reasonable portion of the year."[3] Two years prior to the passage of this bill, the Fort Berthold Indians were deprived of their rations unless their children attended school.[4]

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[1] George E. Gerowe, Superintendent, Fort Stevenson Industrial School. Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1890, p. 283.

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 283-285.

[3] Daniel Dorchester, Sup't of Indian Schools. Annual Reports of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1893, p. 379.

[4] Murphy, *op. cit.*, 1891, pp. 322-23.

Agent Jno. S. Murphy discussed some of the issues concerning different types of schools on the reservation in his report of 1892. Some of his arguments for the education of Indian children included the need to: assimilate with the whites, obliterate superstitions, dissolve prejudices, and correct all the "evils" attached to the race. He stated that he had continued to enforce compulsory education, resulting in an increase in the attendance of Indian children of more than 95 per cent in three years, and that all of the Indian children who were physically able, attended school. In addition, 62 underage and overage children matriculated in various schools, making an overall total enrollment of 230 students from the reservation of which 160 were registered in the Fort Stevenson Industrial School. He called attention to the fact that the "compulsory school age" ranged from five to eighteen, but the students did not enter school until they were six or seven years old. He, therefore, requested that a kindergarten be established and the compulsory age lowered from five to three years. By starting the children this early, he felt that English could be made the primary language of the Indian children and their native tongue would become a secondary language.[1]

Al H. Clapp, the new acting agent in 1894, presented a different point of view concerning the success of Indian education in general and Fort Stevenson Industrial School education in particular. Clapp pointed out that when the Indian student graduated, no provision had been made to utilize the learning obtained in school, leaving the student no choice but to engage in the squalid life of the other reservation Indians. This made him despondent and caused him to lack any incentive toward intelligent exertion. The kind of education received by the student had little value since he could not use it. Woodworking, blacksmithing, and other crafts taught at the industrial school did not make the student a master of his craft. He earned an education which did not adequately prepare him for either Indian or white life styles. He lost touch with his own and could not identify with the alien culture. Of 49 students sent to boarding schools from the reservation, excluding Fort Stevenson, in the 15 years prior to this report, 19, or 38.7 percent, were already dead; of the remaining 30, 3 were considered to be worthless and not over 14 were improved in any way.

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[1] Jno. S. Murphy, Agent. Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1892, pp. 354-359.

Clapp felt that good could be gained from daily association between parents and their children and that the boarding school system, whereby the Indian children were physically taken from the reservation, was deficient. Day schools could probably be of more value as the whole tribe would benefit, and what the child learned might partially be transferred to his parent. In addition, the cost would be cut in half and at the same time most of the causes of discontent would be removed.[1]

Daniel Dorchester, Superintendent of Indian Schools, reviewed Indian education in 1893. He noted that although it was true that Indian children were often better able to learn English if they were taught in boarding schools outside the reservation, he defended the reservation schools "as first in importance, to be developed and sustained in the most efficient manner." When the children were educated outside the reservation their ways changed, and they tended to reject their old customs, causing their parents to be resentful of the boarding school idea. Also, the new graduates going back to the reservation in ones and twos, could not find work suitable to their education, giving them no chance to apply the new learning.[1]

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[1] Al H. Clapp, Agent. Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1894, pp. 232-234.

Apparently Agent Clapp's recommendations, made in his 1894 report, were accepted in Washington since authority was granted for the construction of one agency school, three day schools, and three industrial cottage buildings in the following year. Clapp noted, in his 1895 report, that the buildings at Armstrong were already near completion and were located in the center of the Arikaree settlement, nearly eighteen miles down river from the new agency buildings.[2]

In commenting on the changes in schools, Agent Clapp stated that he was thoroughly convinced that the best education for the Indians was acquired among the people and amid the surroundings where they were to live thereafter. This type of an education was not as complete as one gained at non-reservation schools, but it was sufficient and vastly more practicable.[3]

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[1] Daniel Dorchester, Sup't. of Indian Schools. Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1893, p. 370.

[2] W. H. Clapp, Agent. Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1895, p. 222.

[3] W. H. Clapp, Agent. Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1896, p. 232.

W. N. Hailmann, Superintendent of Indian Schools, outlined a course of study for use in the various schools in 1894.

> DAY SCHOOLS.--Day schools are expected to give to the child the ability to speak English sufficient for his daily needs, ability to read and write English within the same limits and within the limits of the Third Reader; simple directions in regard to the preservation of the body and care of health, as well as suitable physical training; the use of objects and kindergarten material in gaining and expressing notions of color, number, and form; practice in simple arithmetical operations; skill in drawing, weaving, knitting, sewing, and other suitable occupations; singing by rote, and practice in staff notations; garden work and flower culture.
>
> RESERVATION BOARDING SCHOOLS.--The reservation boarding schools are expected to give to the children, in addition to this, ability to read and write English within the limits of the third and fourth reader literature; practical control of arithmetic within the limits of daily life; simple instruction in hygienic life, ventilation and selection of food; care of the sick, and suitable physical training; clear rudimentary notions of geography, and a fund of historical anecdotes; advanced kindergarten work...with special reference to the industrial needs of the locality of the school; drawing and other suitable occupations; singing by rote and practice in staff notation; garden work; suitable agricultural and domestic industries.

The normal day school pupil was assumed to be between six and ten years old and the reservation boarding school pupils between ten and sixteen years, although many would complete the work by their fourteenth year.[1]

Hailmann stated that the readers then being used contained comparatively little to stimulate and attract the mind of the young Indian whose home surroundings had not been enriched by the arts of civilization. To counteract this, he selected books which concerned the love of nature. He prepared syllabuses bearing on the different subjects of instruction which was prepared in such a way as to stimulate spontaneous interest in the subject's mind and "spontaneous purpose connected therewith."[1]

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[1] W. N. Hailmann, Superintendent of Indian Schools. Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1894, p. 349.

On August 1, 1894, Superintendent O. H. Gates of the Fort Stevenson Industrial School reported that a fire had destroyed the buildings on the south side of the campus, including the schoolrooms, dormitories, sitting rooms, dining rooms, kitchen, laundry, and chapel. Most of the valuable equipment, excepting the band instruments, were saved.[2] Indian Commissioner, D. M. Browning, announced in his 1896 report, that the Fort Stevenson Industrial School was being discontinued and in its place a new boarding school was being established on the Reservation.[3] In the meantime, F. Glenn Matoon, the new agent at Fort Berthold, reported that three new schools were in operation. Built in 1895, following the fire at Fort Stevenson, they included one boarding and day school located at the agency, and two day schools--one at Armstrong and the other at Independence. A third day school was being completed at Shell Creek. Mr. O. H. Gates was to be the first superintendent in charge of the new school system.[4]

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[1] Ibid., pp. 350-352.

[2] O. H. Gates, Superintendent, op, cit., 1894, pp. 398-399.

[3] D. M. Browning, Commissioner of Indian Affairs. Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1896, p. 6.

[4] F. Glen Matoon, Agent. Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1886, p. 232.

Congregational Mission School, to 1890

On September 8, 1875, C. W. Darling, Agent at Fort Berthold, made the following announcement:

> On the 9th of May Rev. C. L. Hall and wife arrived at this agency as missionaries, sent out by the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. Since then there has been church service every Sabbath, conducted in the Dakota language, and as most of these people understand it, they get along very nicely. Mr. Hall's time has nearly all been taken this summer in building a mission-house near the village, which is nearly completed and will answer for the present combined purpose of dwelling, church, and school. The Board has spent nearly $3,000 in all on the work. They propose to make a permanent station here. Their main effort will be to induce the Indians to become Christian men and women. They will, however, cooperate with the agent and the Government in all efforts to bring the Indians to an industrious life, and in keeping up a day or any other school.[1]

Mrs. Emma Hall reported that Miss Briggs held the government school in Rev. Hall's home (see p. 154). This school was operated from November to May, 1876-1877, and averaged about twelve scholars. Mrs. Hall tried a five week experiment with Gros Ventres boys and girls, beginning with an enrollment of twenty to thirty and closing with an enrollment of only eleven. She concluded that in the future they would "teach the little children to write and read English only, using the native tongue to instruct them in gospel truth as much as we were able."[2]

During the second school year, starting in the fall of 1877, the only school facilities available were those provided by the American Mission Board (A.M.S.) and these were located in one room of Missionary

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[1] C. W. Darling, Agent. Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1876, pp. 30-31.

[2] Mrs. C. L. Hall. Records of the Mission of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. Bismarck: North Dakota State Historical Society Library, 1883, pp. 27-28.

Hall's home. Agent Alden reported that 77 scholars attended school for a month or more, with 12 as the average monthly attendance. However, most of the time there were as many in attendance as could be conveniently accommodated in the small room. Since children from all three of the tribes were enrolled, the teacher had to communicate in three languages besides English, making it very difficult to teach. Alden also announced that a new school house had been erected and would be ready for occupancy as soon as desks could be procured and painting completed.[1]

The new school building was occupied in December, 1877, with the government teacher assigned to the Gros Ventres and Mandans and the teacher furnished by the A.M.S. assigned to the Rees. Out of 360 children of school age, 60 could be accommodated at the day school, 35 were in attendance for one month or more, the average attendance was 24, and school had been maintained for a nine month period.[2] Also, during 1878 Missionary Hall took the advice of White Shield, the old Ree chief, and gave the children a noon meal on Fridays. Hall reports that "this was as attractive as ice cream cones and lolly-pops," making the school a popular institution on Friday."[3]

A combination chapel and school room was erected by the A.M.S.

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[1] E. H. Alden, Agent. Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1877, pp. 60, 290-291.

[2] E. H. Alden, Agent. Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1878, pp. 33, 282-283.

[3] C. L. Hall, Missionary. "The Story of Fort Berthold" in Hall Papers. Bismarck: North Dakota State Historical Society.

in 1880[1] and was placed in operation in 1881.[2] This same year, the wife of Rev. Hall died and, since she was a missionary in her own right, this was viewed as a great loss to the mission work, as well as to Rev. Hall, personally.[3] By 1882, Agent Kauffman was able to report that there were accommodations for 50 students at the missionary school and 60 at the agency school. The total number of students attending the agency school for one month or more was 88, while 40 students attended the mission school. The average attendance was 31 for the agency school and 19 for the missionary school. The agency school was kept open for ten months and the missionary school for nine months. At this time, Miss Ward and Miss Pike assisted Rev. Hall in missionary and school work.[4]

In 1883, the mission school averaged an attendance of 12 pupils with a total attendance of 20 pupils. This was the year that Fort Stevenson was turned over to the Department of the Interior which meant that the day-schools would be re-evaluated.[5] The mission school for 1884 averaged more than 26 pupils. The fact that the mission school had 100 pupils for one month or more but only averaged 13 pupils per day, with the largest monthly attendance being 24,[6] gave some indication of the transitional problems following the opening of the Fort Stevenson Industrial School.

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[1] Kauffman, op. cit., 1880, p. 33.

[2] Kauffman, op. cit., 1881, p. 37.

[3] Ibid., p. 37.

[4] Kauffman, op. cit., 1882, pp. 24, 316, 317.

[5] Gifford, op. cit., 1884, p. 32.

[6] Gifford, op. cit., 1884, pp. 266-267.

Hall announced in 1885 that "six little girls have been boarded in the mission home nearly eight months, and have made remarkable progress in English and other studies in industrial lines." The mission home had been enlarged to accommodate twelve girls.[1]

This experience resulted in an announcement the following year by Agent Gifford that:

> The Mission Home School, conducted under the auspices of the American Missionary Association, has been the means of taking thirteen girls from the depths of degradation to a home directed and presided over by capable and efficient ladies. The matron is indeed a proper person to perform the duties assigned her, and the result of her labors will go far towards instilling in these young lives the beauties and importance of a higher civilized and home life, and much of the success of this school is owing to her determined efforts.[2]

The Government schoolhouse was turned over to the American Missionary Association which refurbished the school building to accommodate 25 boarding school students. In the future, Hall proposed to include boys as well as girls. The enrollment of day schools had been dropping due to the removal of the people from the village to their allotments, some of which were a long distance away. When the Fort Berthold families built their homes on their individual allotments, some of the geographical locations were isolated to the extent that the children had no access to schools. This accounts for the high incidence of boarding school use. Hall described a typical school day as one including five hours of study in the schoolroom plus a half hour in the evening. Prayers were said twice a day, with singing and reading of scriptures. In addition, there were three "gatherings" on the Sabbath.[1]

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[1] C. L. Hall, Missionary. Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1885, p. 33.

[2] Gifford, op. cit., 1886, p. 63.

In 1887, the Government contracted with the A.M.A. to board twelve students at a rate of $108.00 per capita per annum. This school was in session for twelve months, the enrollment was 27, and the average attendance was 23. This was the first contract boarding school located at Fort Berthold which was subsidized by the Government.[2] By 1889 there were 25 students at a rate of $108.00 per capita. The contract called for the school to be in session for twelve months. In 1887, they reported an enrollment high of 34 and an average of 30. The students cultivated 32 acres of land and raised corn, oats, barley, and vegetables.[3]

Catholic Mission and School--1889-1896

In 1889, Agent Jones reported the erection of a new Catholic Mission School Building (Sacred Heart), a two-and-one-half story structure designed to house more than 100 children. This was financed by a donation of $12,000 from Katherine Drexel.[4] A community of Catholic sisters was also to be stationed at the school. The Indians made an agreement with Father Craft, a representative of the Catholic Indian Bureau, that as soon as the new school was completed, all their children must be placed in one of the three schools, Catholic, Congregational, or Government, and that they would be free to choose which school to attend.[1] By 1892, the Home Mission School (Congregational) had an attendance of 47 while 14 students were enrolled in the Sacred Heart School (Catholic). Agent Murphy stated that every able bodied student was attending school.[2]

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[1] Hall, *op. cit.*, 1886, p. 65.

[2] Abram Gifford, Agent. *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs*. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1887, p. 321.

[3] Thos. B. Jones, Agent. *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs*. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1889, pp. 381, 382, 390.

[4] Larry B. Hacker. *The Catholic Church in Western North Dakota, 1738-1960*. Mandan: Crescent Printing Company, 1960, p. 42.

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SCHOOLS--1896-1910

By 1896, the Fort Stevenson Industrial School had burned down; the Browning Boarding School--located at the new agency site, 25 miles up the river from old Fort Berthold and built in 1893[3] with 54 boarding and 20 day pupils--was in operation; a day school was open at Armstrong, an Arikaree settlement, 18 miles east of the agency, averaging 39 pupils; a day school was located at Independence, 18 miles west of the agency, and opened February 27, 1896, with 23 pupils and an average attendance of 18;[4] one mission, under the charge of Rev. C. L. Hall, a Congregationalist minister, supported a school of about 45 Indian children at old Fort Berthold with a substation at Independence; and the St. Edwards Mission, with an enrollment of 6 students, was presided over by Rev. F. M. J. Craft, a Roman Catholic.[5]

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[1] Jones, op. cit., 1889, p. 148.

[2] Murphy, op. cit., 1892, pp. 351-353.

[3] Al. H. Clapp, Agent. Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1894, p. 234.

[4] Gates, op. cit., 1896, p. 234.

[5] Clapp, op. cit., 1896, p. 232.

The American Missionary Association operated a boarding school located in the Ree settlement and two missionary stations, one at the agency and the other at Independence in 1897.[1]

The Browning Boarding School building, operated by the agency, was destroyed by fire on March 27, 1898, and a new, larger building was contracted for which would "probably accommodate all the children who should be in boarding school."[2] In the following year, 1899, the Mission station, located at the agency, opened a day school at Elbowoods:

> . . . By giving the use of a building and sharing the expense of a teacher with the Government employees and a few of the more advanced Indians at the agency. This school has been a great advantage to the white children of government employees, for whom the Government makes no educational provisions. The average attendance has been 25.[3]

Another fire, this time at the Mission home school, destroyed the largest building, Calhoun dining hall, on March 14, 1899. Attendance before the fire averaged 40 pupils; However, this number subsequently dropped to 23 with the then limited facilities. As part of an experiment, Hall grouped six girls and one matron in a separate house for a three-month period. Since, this arrangement was an improvement over the

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[1] Thomas Richards, Agent. Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1897, p. 215.

[2] Thomas Richards, Agent. Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1898, p. 255.

[3] C. L. Hall, Superintendent. Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1899, p. 275.

the dormitory-type residence previously used, three other cottages were utilized so that the children could be "better taught."[1]

Following the outbreak of the Spanish-American War, in April, 1898, Father Craft offered his own and the Sisters' services to the War Department with the request that they be sent up to the front fighting lines immediately. He felt that their frontier experience fitted them for this type of duty. They received commendation for their unselfish service.[2]

After peace had been signed, Father Craft and the Sisters returned to Elbowoods only to discover that the other Sisters, who had been left behind, had dispersed, and that he could not obtain full ecclesiastical recognition for the few remaining Sisters. He decided to abandon the idea of an Indian Sisterhood and left North Dakota. Father J. B. Wilhem was left in charge until 1901 when Father J. B. Malo replaced him. After Father Malo's death in 1904, Father Leon Favreau spent the next six years at Elbowoods.[3]

Agent Thomas Richards, in his annual report of 1901, attempted to explain why the Sisters were not at St. Edwards School when Father Craft returned. He gives light on a possible reason why the Priest could not obtain full ecclesiastical recognition for the remaining sisters:

> Four years ago there existed at this agency an infamous state of affairs in which were implicated several agency and school

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[1] Ibid., p. 275.

[2] Hacker, op. cit., pp. 42-43.

[3] Ibid., p. 43.

> employees and some Indian girls who belonged to the order of Sisters originated by Father Craft. This matter stirred up the entire community and caused no end of scandal. The removal of the guilty parties from the reservation ended the incident. The Indian Sisterhood is now practically disbanded. The Indian girls of this reservation who were members have returned to their people. Some are married, and have made good, faithful wives, and all are leading upright, Christian lives.[1]

Agent Richards was also unhappy with Charles Hall and expressed his feelings in the same report:

> During the past year the missionary work on this reservation has not been kept up to its usual standard. Attendance at the churches has decreased and general interest in church work has declined. The so-called missionary work of the past year has been criticising the administration of agency affairs, formulating charges against the agent, and inciting the Indians to similar action. At one time it became necessary for the Department to caution the principal missionary that such interference would not be tolerated. This warning, instead of causing a cessation of the trouble, simply taught the participants to be more circumspect.
>
> The missionaries wish to control the corporal as well as the spiritual welfare of the Indians. This state of affairs has existed for a long period. Every agent of whom I can learn anything has had more or less trouble with the missionary. Such conduct would not be tolerated in an Indian trader, employee, or any other person having business with this branch of the service. It is unjust to an agent to hamper him with a drag stone as there is here.[2]

Since Richards was critical of both the Catholic and the congregational missions, and considering the fact that the agents before and after him saw things in a more positive way, the truth probably lay somewhere between the two positions. Undoubtedly the Sisters were inadequately trained and did lose some direction when Father Craft went to war; however, Agent Richard's report might be considered to be a reflection of his personal prejudices.

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[1] Thomas Richards, Agent. Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1901, p. 305.

[2] Ibid., p. 304.

In 1910, Bishop Wehrle sent Father Paul Lotter, OSB, and Father Benedict Peter, OSB, to build up the missions in the area. Since Father Craft had employed only Indian Sisters, who had little education, the Mission[1] had engaged in social work among the adults instead of concentrating on education. In 1910, the Benedictine Sisters from St. Joseph's Convent, St. Mary, Pennsylvania, sent volunteers to Elbowoods and thus a permanent Catholic School was established.[2]

The Government Boarding School at Browning, which burned on March 30, 1898, reopened April 2, 1900, with a capacity of 75 pupils, a total enrollment of 85 pupils, and an average attendance of 79 pupils.[3] The three Government dayschools, with a capacity of 127, had a total enrollment of 146 pupils, and an average attendance of 111 pupils for the school year ending on June 30, 1900.[4]

The Mission Boarding School, which was destroyed by fire in March, 1899, was not rebuilt, but, in its stead, all of the cottages were rebuilt and remodelled, postponing the opening of school until October when it began its operation with 32 pupils.

> We are called a "home school." We work on the principle that the nearer a school is like a home the better. Therefore the limitation of the numbers; also the breaking up into three

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[1] Hacker, op. cit., p. 42.

[2] Ibid., p. 52.

[3] Richards, op. cit., 1900, p. 18.

[4] Ibid., p. 20.

cottages with separate matrons; also the providing of these things that can be provided in a well-to-do-home and the omission of those things that are not found in the middle-class country homes in North Dakota. The children thus become members of an ordinary family life under ordinary family favorable conditions. Therefore, also, we take them at 6 and keep them (as we are generally able to do) year after year, till they are grown up. Some then go to school beyond the reservation and return to be influential among their people. This work is thus rather deep than broad; rather effective than showy.

We are trying to systematize our work by graduating pupils into a higher school. We have one of national reputation at Santee, Nebr., to which the Indians here already owe much. We hope to see the Government and all other educational efforts for Indians thus systematized.[1]

INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT, 1900-1933

ECONOMIC PROGRESS: 1900-1910

The Fort Berthold People continued to make slow but steady economic progress. The estimate for the number of cattle on hand for fiscal June 30, 1903, was approximately 7,000. There was an increase of 1,600, but 870 were sold for beef, 500 were used for home consumption, and 222 were lost by diseases and other causes. Eight corrals were constructed on the reservation, and although 1,600 calves represented a small increase, the Indians appeared to be learning how to become stockmen.[2]

During the 1903 season, there was an increase of 1,032 head of cattle, making a total of 8,040 going into the winter. By the next spring, this was reduced by 750 head which were sold for beef, 410 killed for home use, and 1,720 lost by disease, exposure, and other causes. The long, cold winter was given as an excuse for the loss of the 1,720 head,[1] but the field matrons reported that the winter had been exceptionally long and cold while the hay had been used up long before the snow had melted sufficiently for the stock to eat grass from the prairie.[2]

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[1] Hall, op. cit., 1900, p. 316.

[2] Anzio W. Thomas, Agent. Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1903, p. 235.

A similar situation prevailed in 1904 with a beginning inventory of 5,160 head, plus a natural increase of 950; however, 720 were sold for beef, 220 killed for home use and 300 lost by disease, wolves, etc., leaving a balance of 4,870 head of live stock on June 30, 1905;[3] this is a reduction of better than 40 per cent in a two year period.

Agent Thomas reported in 1906 that more hay was put up in the summer of 1905 than was used during the following winter, an indication that some progress was being made in planning ahead for the winter season.[4]

Commissioner W. A. Jones had issued an order in 1901 directing the agents to erase from the ration rolls those Indians who had become self supporting and to issue rations to the rest only in accord with their actual needs, and to inaugurate, wherever possible, the policy of giving rations only in return for labor performed, either for themselves or for the benefit of the tribe.[1]

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[1] Anzio W. Thomas, Agent. Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1904, p. 273.

[2] Anna D. Wilde and Adeline P. Beauchamp, Field Matrons. Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1903, p. 238.

[3] Anzio W. Thomas, Agent. Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1905, p. 283.

[4] Anzio W. Thomas, Agent. Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1906, p. 295.

In accordance with this directive, rations were withdrawn from Fort Berthold Reservation in the spring of 1902. This action was seen by the field matron, Anna Wilde, as an unwise move since there had been no warning that this was about to happen.[2]

In 1903, the report of the field matrons was more optimistic:

> Though withdrawal of rations has been hard on all who were cut from this help, yet in most cases it has been a means of instruction and greater incentive roused toward self-support. The people have come to place greater value on their stock. The men have come to realize more than ever before that the cattle will not only answer for food, but by the sale of them will bring money with which they can supply those dependent upon them with the necessities of life. This realization has induced the men to give their cattle better care and put forth more earnest effort to make a larger provision of hay for them than in former years. Our people, too, are commencing to appreciate work and esteeming more highly those who deservedly earn the reputation of being a "good worker." In proportion, the lazy man or woman receives less respect and not a very warm reception anywhere.[3]

By 1911, Agent Hoffman noted that the policemen and farmers were on the "lookout to see that they do not neglect their stock." But, by this time the inventory of cattle had dwindled to "nearly 3,000 head" and the horses numbered 2,200 head.[4] The monetary value of the stock owned by individual Indians was estimated at $273,550.[1] Out of 604 able bodied adults, 400 engaged in stock raising as their principal means of support and 100 as a partial means of support.[2] Apparently, the numbers of cattle were being levelled off, not by the carrying capacity of the range, but by the capacity of the individual Indian to care for the livestock. Their small grains were entirely dependent on the amount of rainfall, "and when the rain comes at the right time a good crop is always assured."[3] Most of the Indians had access to or owned some form of implements, such as sulky plows, mowers, rakes, and cultivators. Some owned binders, and the Indians in the neighborhood of Shell Creek Day School bought a tractor and separator.[4]

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[1] W. A. Jones, Commissioner. *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs*. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1901, p. 6.

[2] Anna Davison Wilde, Field Matron. *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs*. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1902, p. 269.

[3] Anna D. Wilde and Adeline P. Beauchamp, Field Matrons. *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs*. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1903, p. 238.

[4] Charles W. Hoffman, Agent. *Fort Berthold Narrative Report*. The National Archives, Record group 75, 1911, p. 12.

Income Analysis

An analysis of income received for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1911, included the following:

Income from sources other than their own labor	
Per Capita trust fund payments	$ 11,480
Rations	4,000
Income from leases	10,100
Interest Trust Fund	3,000
Gratuities	20,000
Sale of land	100,000
Total	$148,580

Income from their own labor	
Grain raised by Indians	$ 8,075
Timber sold	22
Vegetables	1,000
Employees of Indian Service	
Regular	9,375
Irregular	4,165
Horses sold	2,515
Cattle sold	2,700
Poultry	300
Private employment & Misc.	9,040
Total	$50,372

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[1] Robert G. Valentine, Commissioner. Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1911, p. 255.

[2] Ibid., p. 131.

[3] Hoffman, op. cit., p. 10.

[4] Ibid., p. 11.

Deducting the $100,000 derived from the sale of land left $48,580 earned by indirect sources. This meant that 51 per cent of their disposable income was earned by their own labor.[1]

An indication of their financial condition can also be seen by reviewing the following statement:

Individual property holdings	
Land	$580,110
Money in bank	8,100
Homes, etc.	50,000
Furniture	5,550
Tools	30,000
Wagons	20,000
Stock	273,550
Total	$967,310

Tribal property holdings	
Land	$3,820,940
Funds in treasury	109,325
Total	$3,930,265
Tribal Property	$3,930,265
Individual Property	967,310
Total Assets	$4,897,575

The total population in 1911 was 1,123; the number of able bodied males was 286; the number of Indians farming was 100; the largest acreage farmed by one Indian was 80 acres; the total acreage farmed amounted to 1,000; and out of a total of 237,324 acres of agricultural lands, 85,442 acres were allotted and 151,882 acres were unallotted.[2] There was an average income of $347.00 for the 286 able bodied males and $177.00 average income derived from the actual labor of the Indians for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1911.[3] The per capita valuations amounted to $4,361 while their per capita income was $89.00.[4]

These statistics indicate that the Indians were living on a subsistence level, lacking the equipment, know-how, and training to allow them to become completely self-sustaining. They lived partly off their accummulations (capital) as well as their profits. Their buffalowere gone and they were not yet capable of adapting to the new mode of living. There were 33 births during the year but 40 deaths, indicating that they were still a dying race. Signs of improvement were seen in the fact that 323 of the families lived in permanent houses with floors and 430 lived in permanent houses without floors. Seventeen of the deaths were caused by tuberculosis, accounting for 42½ per cent of the total.[1]

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[1] Valentine, *op. cit.*, pp. 60-260.

[2] *Ibid.*

[3] *Ibid.*

[4] *Ibid.*

The Commissioner of Indian Affairs announced a change affecting the welfare of the Indians in the United States by the Secretary's order of December 17, 1909, which provided that thereafter no assistance should be given creditors trying to collect from Indian debtors. Previous to this order, creditors merely had to present a bill to the Superintendent in charge of reservations for payment. This action, in effect, served to dry up much of the type of credit which previously had been available to the Indians, but it also preserved any assets held by the Government for individual Indians.[2]

Governmental Change of Emphasis

The decade ending in 1910 saw the Federal Government concentrate on the problem of changing the Indian's orientation from tribal social organization to individualization. Yet, individualization progressed rapidly only in the case of land tenure[1] whether on Fort Berthold or on other reservations in the United States. Agent Hoffman reported that the Indians "took up their allottments, made new homes, and many changes have taken place among them, both in habits and customs,"[2] indicating that although they were not extensive, some social changes were being observed.

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[1] Ibid.

[2] Robert G. Valentine, Commissioner. Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1912, pp. 9-10.

By 1913, nearly all of the Indians at Fort Berthold had provided themselves with out-door toilets, an indication of improved sanitary methods of living.[3]

The allotment to the Indians amounted to approximately 400 acres if it were grazing land, or from 240 to 320 acres if farming land. Some of this allotted land was leased to white people if the owners were minors, if they were old or disabled, or if the owner had more land than he could develop with his present resources. The white lessors plowed and fenced the holdings and at the expiration of the lease these improvements would belong to the owner.[4]

In his report of October 15, 1917, Commissioner Cato Sells noted that, in his view, the solution to the problems of the Indians was individual, not collective, and each individual must be considered in the light of his own environment and capacity for larger responsibilities and privileges. He said that "it is almost an axiom that an

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[1] Ibid., p. 14.

[2] Charles W. Hoffman, Agent. Fort Berthold Narrative Report. National Archives, Record group 75, 1912, sec. IV, p. 2.

[3] Charles W. Hoffman, Agent. Fort Berthold Narrative Report. National Archives, Record group 75, 1913, sec. II, p. 8.

[4] Ibid., sec. IV, p. 24.

Indian who has a larger proportion of white blood than Indian partakes more of the characteristics of the former than of the latter."[1] On April 17, 1917, he announced a declaration of policy for Indian affairs, as follows:

> During the past four years the efforts of the administration of Indian affairs have been largely concentrated on the following fundamental activities--the betterment of health conditions of Indians, the suppression of the liquor traffic among them, the improvement of their industrial conditions, the further development of vocational training in their schools, and the protection of the Indians' property. . .with these activities and accomplishments well under way, we are now ready to take the next step in our administrative program.
>
> The time has come for discontinuing guardianship of all competent Indians and giving even closer attention to the incompetent that they may more speedily achieve competency.
>
> Broadly speaking, a policy of greater liberalism will henceforth prevail in Indian administration to the end that every Indian, as soon as he has been determined to be as competent to transact his own business as the average white man, shall be given full control of his property and have all his lands and moneys turned over to him, after which he will no longer be a ward of the Government.[2]

This policy change was designed to release from federal guardianship practically all Indians who had one-half or more white blood. Likewise, it promoted a more liberal policy toward those who had more than one-half Indian blood, but these latter were safeguarded by making 40 acres inalienable, except by approval of the Secretary of Interior. Indians were encouraged to sell inherited lands as well as that portion of their land which was not available or adaptable for their own uses, utilizing the proceeds to improve their remaining land or increasing their facilities.

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[1] Cato Sells, Commissioner. Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1917, pp. 3-4.

[2] Ibid.

On March 7, 1919, Commissioner Sells addressed the following letter to the superintendents of various Indian reservations:

> You are requested to submit to this office, at the earliest practicable date, a list of all Indians of one-half or less Indian blood, who are able-bodied and mentally competent, 21 years of age or over, together with a description of the land allotted to said Indians, and the number of the allotment. It is intended to issue patents in fee simple to such Indians...[1]

The following year, the superintendent of the Reservation made the following report:

> It is believed that the issuance of patents in fee and certificates of competency on this reservation obtains about the same results as would be obtained in similar action among an equal number of white men. Some of these Indians have made splendid advancement since becoming citizens, while others have squandered their holdings, but I believe it is working out that those who have squandered their holdings will get down to work, and in the end, it will be greatly beneficial.
>
> It is hard to estimate the percentage of proceeds squandered, as for the most part, the proceeds are used in purchase of stock, machinery, improvements to homes, and the necessary clothing and living expenses. Where, however, the money is used in purchase of clothing and subsistence mainly, it might be called squandered as the individual might have been earning his livelihood and using these funds in purchase of profit-bearing stock, machinery, etc. Possibly 20% could be classed as squandered.
>
> In most cases the Indian obtains good value for his land when sold by himself. In some instances, however, they make trades for automobiles, which in a few years are useless, thus the almost complete loss of his land.[2]

Considering the customs of the Indians, this problem could be seen from a different perspective. To make the assumption that when the Indian spent his money he would "get down to work" was erroneous. He merely moved into the home of one of his relatives on the reservation, thereby indirectly becoming a ward of the government again. This was consistent with Indian mores.

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[1] Cato Sells, Commissioner. Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1919, p. 8.

[2] Ernest W. Jermark, Agent. Fort Berthold Narrative Reports. National Archives, Record group 75, 1920, sec. VI.

ECONOMIC PROGRESS: 1911-1920

The Indians gradually increased the amount of income derived from their physical labor. A comparison between the income for 1911 (see pp. 180-181) and 1920 (see below), indicated economic progress for that decade.

Income from sources other than their own labor		Income from their own labor	
Individual leases	$ 83,104	Crops raised by Indians	$121,520
Interest earned	4,448	Livestock sold	3,041
Sale of land	130,861	Wages earned	11,372
Total	$218,413	Misc. Labor	25,277
		Rations	225
Add income from labor	161,435		$161,435
Total Income	$379,848		

Deducting the $130,861 derived from the sale of land left $87,552 earned by indirect sources. When compared with the income derived from their own labor, 65% of their disposable income was earned, as compared with 51 percent in 1910.

Their financial condition was as follows:

Individual property holdings		Tribal property holdings	
Land	$2,717,245	Land	$1,080,655
Money in Banks	804,322	Funds in treasury	168,183
Homes, etc.	315,000	Stock	18,400
Machinery & tools	210,000	Total	$1,267,238
Livestock (6,540 Cattle)	665,350	Total Individual holdings	4,711,917
Total	$4,711,917	Total Assets	$5,979,155 [1]

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[1] Cato Sells, Commissioner. Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1920, pp. 75-199.

The total Reservation population in 1920 was 1,205, an increase of 82 people in nine years. There were 281 able bodied males, a decrease of 21; 400 Indians were farming, an increase of 300; and the total acreage cultivated by Indians amounted to 12,870, an increase of 11,870 acres.

Deducting the income derived from the sale of land, each able bodied male earned an income of $886, an increase of $539 over the 1911 figure, and the average income derived from the actual labor of the Indians was $575, an increase of $398; and per capita income amounted to $207, representing an increase of $118. The per capita valuations of their individual and tribal property raised from an average of $4,361 to $4,962, an increase of $601 per person.

In 1920, there were 57 births and 31 deaths, a net gain of 28 people. Of the 31 deaths, nine occurred to children under three years of age and nine to people who had tuberculosis. It was estimated that there were nineteen people who had tuberculosis and 214 who had trachoma on the Reservation. Milk cows were used by 50 families.

Because of their individual participation in the war effort and in solving some of the problems brought about by World War I, the Indians were able to utilize their previously learned skills to increase production on the Reservation. As a result, there was a substantial increase in the number of cultivated acres (11,870) and cattle (3,750).[1]

Stephen Janus, Superintendent at Fort Berthold in 1925, gave his views of the progress of the Indians during his superintendency.

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[1] _Loc_. _cit_.

He said that everything possible was done to impress upon the minds of the Indians that it would be only a short time before they would be entirely dependent upon their own resources and that they should be ready for that time. Most of the Indians had suitable machinery for their work. The allotments of the older people, the children at school, and the women were leased, if possible, since it had been more profitable to lease the lands than to farm them because of crop failures. The Indians had not yet learned that some crop failures were inevitable and that new attempts needed to be made each year. The range stock was increasing both in numbers and in quality. The Indians were taking better care of their stock and put up sufficient hay to last through the winter. They also purchased milk cows to supplement the diets of children who were not physically strong. Any agricultural progress was due to the efforts of the farmers in charge of the districts and the individual Indians. There was a sum of about $675,000 of individual Indian money on time deposit in various banks. Monthly payments were made on a need basis for clothing, subsistance, and other goods, ranging in price from $15 to $50. A large amount was spent for hospital and doctor bills and for breaking up new land on which to seed flax.[1]

A different view was taken by the new superintendent, Lewis Page, who wrote his report in the following year (1926). He stated that the Indians had trouble saving enough seed for their next year's crop. Their stock was not improving either in quantity or quality. Most of the Indians had turned their attention from stock raising to farming. Sheep raising was being introduced to the Reservation. The outlook for future stock raising was not good since there was little range land left north of the river and practically all of the pasture lands had been placed under cultivation.[1] Fully 98 per cent of the land that had been patented in fee had been sold and fully 80 per cent of all the proceeds of such sales had been squandered.[2]

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[1] Stephen Janus, Superintendent. Fort Berthold Narrative Reports. National Archives, Record group 75, sec. 4, 1925.

Congress appropriated the sum of $20,000 for the construction and equipping of a hospital in 1928.[3] A flour mill was installed during the fiscal year ending June 30, 1928.[4]

CONGRESSIONAL INVESTIGATIONS

In 1928, the 70th Congress passed a resolution directing the Committee on Indian Affairs to make a general survey of the condition of the Indians of the United States. As a part of this project, E. E. Dale made an investigation and wrote a summary of the condition of the Fort Berthold Indians. Mr. Dale reported that about 270,000 acres of land were under lease and approximately 368,000 acres were not leased. Much of the land was quite fertile and the allotments were so large that the people were "well-to-do." The annual income per capita of leases alone amounted to over $100.00 per person and might give the Indian more unearned income that was good for him. He recommended that a hospital be built, education be improved, and emphasis be placed on farming and stock raising. The outlook for the Fort Berthold Indians was the most promising he had seen on any of the reservations visited during the investigation.[1]

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[1] *Ibid*., sec. IV.

[2] *Ibid*., sec. VI.

[3] Lewis W. Page, Superintendent. *Fort Berthold Narrative Reports*. National Archives, Record group 75, 1928, sec. II.

[4] *Ibid*., sec. III.

A five year program announced by Superintendent Page, in 1929, included the placing of small flocks of sheep with families who might give them proper care. It also stressed the need of milk cows and poultry.[2]

A new hospital, as recommended, was opened on May 1, and by June 30, had accommodated seven maternity cases. There were 66 births and 64 deaths. Forty-two of the deaths were infants under three years of age and were attributed largely to epidemics of influenza and whooping cough which were followed in turn by measles.

Agent Stanion felt that the issuance of patents in fee was so serious a matter that only those of exceptional ability should get it. This was in sharp contrast to the former policy of encouraging the Indians to obtain clear title to their land as soon as possible.[4]

Commissioner Rhoads recognized the economic and growth conditions of the country in his statement of June 30, 1932:

> Failure of crops and subsistence gardens when the Indians had planted more subsistence gardens than at any time in the

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[1] Lynn J. Frazier, Chairman. Survey of Conditions of the Indians in the United States. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1929, pp. 3213-3217.

[2] L. W. Page, Superintendent. Fort Berthold Narrative Reports. National Archives, Record group 75, 1929, sec. IV, p. 1.

[3] Ralph P. Stanion, Superintendent. Fort Berthold Narrative Reports. National Archives, Record group 75, 1930, sec. II, pp. 1-2.

[4] Ibid., sec. VI, p. 1.

> past, the difficulty of Indians securing any kind of work in competition with thousands of unemployed whites all tended to a revival of the old ration system. Every effort was made to combat this tendency in a humane and sympathetic spirit. Indians were asked to work for food and clothing issued to them. Road appropriations were used to furnish wages, and employment was distributed on a stagger system in order to benefit the greatest number. The gratifying result was that the Indians in general responded to this program so that their self-respect has been well maintained.
>
> Many Indians who had established themselves away from reservations lost their jobs and returned to live with relations and friends, thus intensifying the difficulty....Everywhere the doctrine of self-help was preached and put into practice.[1]

Fort Berthold Economic Status During the Depression

The depression was not negatively reflected in the economic status of the Fort Berthold people. Agent L. W. Page noted that during the six months from July 1, 1931, to December 31, 1931, the people on the Reservation received a big payment from the judgment awarded in 1930. On April 7, 1930, the United States Court of Claims handed down a judgment awarding the Fort Berthold Indians the sum of $1,970,259.[2] As a result of this payment, a program of improving old homes and building new ones was implemented, in addition to adding to the livestock, including milk cows, and purchasing feed and hay.[3] The Indians were encouraged to put up hay and raise feed crops in order to take care of the stock being raised on the Reservation.[4]

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[1] Charles J. Rhoads, Commissioner. Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1932, p. 4.

[2] Chas. J. Rhoads, Commissioner. Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1930, p. 28.

[3] L. W. Page, Superintendent. Fort Berthold Narrative Reports. National Archives, Record group 75, sec. I, p. 1.

[4] Ibid., sec. V, p. 1.

U. S. Senate Investigation, 1933-34

The year 1933 brought an end to the Republican administration in Washington and placed the power in the hands of the Democrats under their new President, Franklin D. Roosevelt, with his "New Deal." It also brought a new Commissioner of Indian Affairs, John Collier.

The hearings before the Senate Subcommittee on Indian Affairs had continued throughout this entire period, gathering data and making its information available for the new administration. The Subcommittee met at Elbowoods, on the Fort Berthold Reservation, October 16, 1933, at which time testimony was taken concerning conditions there.

Superintendent McCullough testified that there were 1,535 Indians under the jurisdiction of the Reservation. The general economic condition was good, 85 per cent having comfortable homes. There were 267 families (man, wife and children) on the reservation who depended mainly on the sale of their surplus beef for a livelihood. Additional income was derived from almost 12,000 acres in crops and rentals from surplus grazing lands (about $22,000). About 220,000 acres were leased as grazing land and 202,000 for farming. Every family planted gardens, raising vegetables such as potatoes, squash, beets, carrots, tomatoes, watermelons, and cucumbers. There were about 2,200 sheep on the reservation, all belonging to individual Indians. There was no doctor on the reservation at that time, but one came out from Garrison two days a week. The hospital had handled about 4,000 cases the past year.

There were $39,000 in funds belonging to the tribes and $625,913 belonging to individual Indians as of September 13. The previous summer

(1932) the Indians bought close to 1,000 beef cattle and were buying more. The Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) gave employment to all of the Indians who were willing to work. Fifteen out of the thirty BIA employees were Indians. No Fort Berthold Indians were on rations.[1]

Information prepared for the Subcommittee indicated that out of 267 families, 249 possessed one or more milk cows. During the previous two years, 109 new homes were built and 83 repaired or remodeled.

The extension agent's report showed the following acreage of crops which were worth about $60,000.

	Acres
Wheat	4,840
Oats	3,990
Barley	1,120
Flax	220
Speltz	600
Corn	786
Alfalfa	162
Total	11,738

The amount of stock owned by Indians, together with their estimated value, was as follows:

Cattle, 5,000 head	$100,000
Horses, 2,600 head	39,000
Sheep, 2,200 head	7,700
Total	$146,700 [2]

Recommendations for improvement included the attempt to increase family income by increasing the number of range cattle from 5,000 to 20,000 and to utilize their rangeland themselves rather than lease it out.[3]

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[1] Burton K. Wheeler, Chairman. Hearings Before a Subcommittee of the Committee on Indian Affairs, United States Senate. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1934, part 30, pp. 16455-16464.

[2] Ibid., pp. 16465-16468.

[3] Ibid., p. 16469.

The survey suggested that the idea in back of the allotment policy of having a home place for the Indian was good; but, the allotting of worthless grazing land was open to criticism; the inheritance system, whereby small allotments were divided and subdivided among heirs brought about an unfortunate situation; and, the allotments were not family-sized farms (economic units) except for subsistence purposes.[1] It might be added that the white farmers, who originally settled on a 160 acre homestead, were busy re-ordering their holdings in favor of larger sized units, and if the Indian ever expected to live above the subsistence level, he, too, would have to do the same. This method of changing the economic situation to rise above the subsistence level was obstructed by the land ownership principle in use on the reservation and by the native Indian values which were largely communally oriented, not individualized as in the case of the white society.

Superintendent McCullough made the following comment in regard to agricultural development:

> The big payment gave our Indians automobiles, new homes, livestock, and farm machinery. It also took away the need for personal effort. Many of them employ Turtle Mountain Chippawas to do their farm work for them. In a year or two when the "easy" money is gone our Indians will find themselves better equipped to make a living for themselves then they were before the payment.[2]

Mr. McCullough also commented on the lease situation on the Indian farm lands:

> We have approximately 750 leases of agricultural land. Until three years ago the terms were usually \$1 or \$1.25 per acre for crop land and 25¢ an acre for pasture land. With virtual

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[1] Ibid., p. 16467.

[2] H. D. McCullough, Superintendent. Fort Berthold Narrative Reports. National Archives, Record group 75, 1933, sec. III, p. 5.

crop failures in 1930, 31, and 32 most of these leases became delinquent. Lessees were allowed to continue farming the land and got deeper and deeper in debt to the Indians. The Indians had their big payment and did not crowd the lessees. The lease division was underclerked and the office was apparently more concerned in helping the Indians spend their payment money wisely than in collecting more money for them. In 1932 many of the leases were modified to a crop-share plan. The usual share to the Indian was one fourth of the crop. If the lessee owed one year of back rental the contract was modified so he agreed to give one-third of the crop for two years. If he was back two years in his rental payments he agreed to give one-half the crop. This plan of modifying and extending cash rentals was followed last year and approximately 80% of our leases put in that form. It was the best that could be done under the circumstances as many of the lessees were broke and able to put in a crop only with the help of this modification and government seed loans.[1]

In Washington, a new approach to the Indian problem was being readied. Commissioner John Collier reviewed the problems and proposed policy changes:

1. The allotment system cut down the Indian landholdings, in some cases making the reservations unavailable for Indian use. There were 90,000 Indians who were landless at this time and new lands should be acquired for them.

2. Schools must provide a redistribution of educational opportunity for the Indians.

3. There must be an increasing use of Indians in their own official and unofficial service.

4. There must be a decentralization of administrative authority such that the Indian Service can be integrated into Indian life. This would entail investing enlarged responsibility in the Superintendents of the reservations and beyond them to the Indians themselves.[2]

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[1] Ibid., p. 6.

[2] John Collier, Commissioner. Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1933, pp. 68-69.

COLLIER ERA, 1932-1945

In presenting an historical perspective on the Indian problem, Collier stated that the Allotment Law of 1887, which was intended to be a civilizing instrument for the Indians, was principally an instrument to deprive the Indians of their lands. It was naive to assume that the individual property system could forcibly make the Indian a responsible citizen and extinguish his concern in community property.

There were three ways for the Indian to lose his land: first, by obtaining title (fee simple) and then selling the land to white settlers, usually to have "easy money" for quick spending; second, if the allottee died, the heirs often found that the most practical method of settling the estate was to sell it and divide the money among the claimants; and third, the Government disposed of surplus lands which were left over after the allotments had been made to all of the Indians on the reservation.

Of all the lands owned by Indians in 1877, the year of the Allotment Law, two-thirds had been lost through these various processes of dissipation by 1933. In addition, seventeen million acres were subject to sale but were held up by administrative order pending repeal or revision of the Allotment Law.

Collier felt that the allotment system had neither changed the Indians into self-supporting, responsible citizens, nor fitted them to enter into industrial pursuits. In its stead, it had turned them into paupers, thus imposing an evergrowing relief problem on the Government.

The immediate problem was not one of absorbing the Indians into the white population, but of lifting them out of spiritual and material dependency and hopelessness. The place to do that was on the land, through subsistence farming and animal husbandry, without competing with either white industrial labor or white commercial agriculture.

The allotment system needed to be reversed and capital provided for improvements work, stock, livestock, and farming equipment to help the Indian get on his feet.[1]

After the Treaty of Laramie, the Fort Berthold people owned approximately 12½ million acres. By the end of the cessions in 1910, these had been reduced to 644,000 acres of which 60,000 acres had been sold to non-Indians, making a net of 584,000 acres by 1950. The Fort Berthold Indians' land holdings had thus diminished by a total of 11,920,000 acres, or a little more than 95 per cent in 100 years. A part of the lack of progress can thus be attributed to a diminishing land base.[2]

The allotment system, whereby each Indian received his own land, did not take into consideration that there would be an increase in population and that the Indians would not be assimilated in one generation. Health care, diets, medicine, and economic factors were beginning to reverse the trend of a diminishing population among the Indians and more people were living longer. If this trend were to continue, (and it has) it would mean that there would be a decline in the amount of usable assets available per person, barring migration from reservations. At least two factors contributed to a diminishing economy: (1) fractionated land holdings and (2) increased population. The challenge for the Federal Government was to find positive factors which could remedy the problem.

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[1] Ibid., pp. 108-109.

[2] Walter U. Fuhriman, Director. Damage to Indians of Five Reservations From Three Missouri River Reservoirs in N. Dak. and S. Dak. Billings: Missouri River Basin Investigations Project, Report 138, April, 1954, p. 20.

INDIAN LEGISLATION

Indian Reorganization Act

The allotment system was abandoned when Congress adopted the Indian Reorganization Act (I.R.A), otherwise known as the Wheeler-Howard Act, on June 18, 1934. The report, recommending enactment of this measure, declared that the purposes of the bill were as follows:

> 1) To stop the alienation, through action by the Government or the Indian, of such lands, belonging to ward Indians, as are needed for the present and future support of these Indians.
>
> 2) To provide for the acquisition, through purchase, of land for Indians, now landless, who are anxious and fitted to make a living on such land.
>
> 3) To stabilize the tribal organization of Indian tribes by vesting such tribal organizations with real, though limited, authority, and by prescribing conditions which must be met by such tribal organizations.
>
> 4) To permit Indian tribes to equip themselves with devices of modern business organization, through forming themselves into business corporations.
>
> 5) To establish a system of financial credit for Indians.
>
> 6) To supply Indians with means for collegiate and technical training in the best schools.

7) To open the way for qualified Indians to hold positions in the Federal Indian Service.[1]

Commissioner Collier called the Wheeler-Howard Act the most important piece of Indian legislation since the eighties and said it not only would speed up the rate of assimilation, but it would also provide a means for repairing, as far as possible, the incalculable damage done by the allotment policy and its corollaries.[2]

Johnson-O'Malley Act

Another significant act was the Johnson-O'Malley Act of April 16, 1934 which authorized the Secretary of the Interior to enter into contracts with states or territories:

> . . . for the education, medical attention, agricultural assistance, and social welfare, including relief of distress, of Indians in such State or Territory, through the qualified agencies of such State or Territory.[3]

CONDITIONS ON RESERVATION FOLLOWING THE INDIAN REORGANIZATION ACT

In 1935 the Fort Berthold Indians were having their problems. Normally, there were approximately 750 allotments leased to white farmers, but, due to the drouth of 1934, the Indians farmed less than one-half of their average acreage (approximately 11,000 acres). Enough hay had been put up by only a few Indians in 1934, thereby forcing a reduction of their individual herds and an overall decrease from approximately 5,000 cattle and 3,000 horses to about one-half that amount. With the help of federal feed loans totaling nearly $20,000, they came through the winter with little loss.[1] For the first time in 20 years there was a high welfare load on the reservation.[2]

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[1] Horn, op. cit., p. 129.

[2] John Collier, Commissioner. Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1934, p. 79

[3] Horn, op. cit., p. 128.

An election held on November 17, 1934, favored accepting the Wheeler-Howard Bill by a vote of 477 to 139,[3] and on May 16, 1936, the Fort Berthold Indians voted to accept their new constitution which was drawn up by a Constitutional Committee of fifteen enrolled Indians under the guidance of John H. Holst, a field representative of the B.I.A. This was ratified on May 15, 1936, by a vote of 366 to 220.[4]

Funds to irrigate five gardens for various districts on the Reservation were secured in 1936. These gardens ranged from five to ten acres in area and insured subsistence gardens even in cases of drought.[5]

Late in the fall of 1935, the Indians received 1,000 head of cattle under the reimbursable plan and these were wintered with a loss of a little less than twenty per cent.[6]

The year 1941 saw the end of the fourth year under reorganization and the incorporation known as "The Three Affiliated Tribes of the Fort Berthold Reservation, North Dakota." The Council was operating well, holding monthly meetings, but considerable time was wasted over matters in which the council did not have jurisdiction.[1]

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[1] William R. Beyer, Agent. Fort Berthold Narrative Reports. National Archives, Record group 75, 1935, p. 1.

[2] Ibid., p. 3.

[3] Ibid., pp. 4-5.

[4] William R. Beyer, Agent. Fort Berthold Narrative Reports. National Archives, Record group 75, 1936, pp. 3-4.

[5] Ibid., p. 6.

[6] Ibid., p. 8.

The Public Welfare Board of North Dakota cooperated with the agency to provide surplus commodities for distribution which amounted to about $15,000, retail value.[2]

The reservation program consisted of raising cattle for cash crop, forage to feed cattle, subsistence gardens, and enough poultry, hogs, and dairy cattle for home needs.[3]

POPULATION SHIFTS

A new problem was arising. The lack of cattle and the make-work programs on the reservation caused many Indians to abandon the land and get in a wage economy. They moved to community centers and worked on projects or obtained relief, leasing their land out to white men. To correct this situation would have required an increase in the numbers of cattle owned by the Indians from 4,000 to 20,000 head, but tribal funds were too low to do this. It was recommended that make-work projects be curtailed since an average of 1,400 acres per family would allow each family to range at least 50 head of cattle.[4] Apparently, the combination of welfare programs and the work projects was undoing the work of the previous Indian administrations. The Indians were objecting to going back into a subsistence economy. They were joining the general trend on the farms of the United States whereby rural people moved into larger centers.

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[1] William R. Beyer, Superintendent. Fort Berthold Narrative Reports. National Archives, Record group 75, 1941, pp. 5-6.

[2] Ibid., p. 7.

[3] Ibid., p. 9.

[4] Ibid., pp. 9-10.

ENTRANCE INTO WORLD WAR II

The New Deal under Collier, the drought of the 1930's, and the depression had little positive impact on the Indians at Fort Berthold owing to their peculiar circumstances, but with the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor on Dec. 7, 1941, a new outside force appeared.

By 1941, not only had the Indians replaced their cattle losses of the 1930's, but they were rapidly increasing the size of their herds. In 1941, alone, they had a net gain of 500 head of cattle.[1] Also, during the year, the government substituted food stamps for rations, giving the Indians the opportunity to purchase their own food, thus placing the responsibility for their diet where it belonged, with the people.[2]

By 1942, 53 of the enrolled Indians were in the service, 35 being enlistees and 18 inducted through the draft.[3]

There was an estimated increase of one-third in the acreage of farming lands leased, most of which was planted to oats and flax.

In 1940, John Collier reviewed the Government's attitude toward the Indians. He stated that programs were moving ahead impersonally and ruthlessly on a policy of "extinguishing the Indianhood of all Indians through all devices within the control of a government whose power over the Indians was absolute; it included a continuing expropriation of Indian land."[1]

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[1] William R. Beyer, Agent. Fort Berthold Narrative Reports. National Archives, Record group 75, 1942, p. 4.

[2] Ibid., p. 6.

[3] Ibid., p. 7.

Milestones in Indian progress in the 1920's and 1930's included the use of the United States Public Health Service in checking rising death rates; the use of theories which were developing in the field of social science to administer the Indian's problems; the Meriam Survey and the Senate Committee hearings from 1928 through 1939 with their findings and recommendations; the modification of educational policies starting in the Johnson-O'Malley Act wherein the Government paid the school districts for the Indian student's tuition; and the Indian Reorganization Act of 1933 which put the Indians in charge of their own future. Many of the services rendered to the Indians became diffused among various agencies instead of a single agency having complete control of the Indians' lives.[2]

EDUCATION

EARLY 1900's

Commissioner W. A. Jones questioned, in his 1901 report, whether an educational system which concentrated on Indian children could materially change the Indians from a posture of dependence toward one of independence and self-support. (Critics pointed out that had the same effort been applied locally to the family circle or to the

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[1] John Collier, Commissioner. Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1940, p. 357.

[2] Ibid., pp. 354-361.

Indian adults as had been applied to the education of their children, the tribes could have made far more progress towards civilization than under system of depending on education of the youth to promote change.) Proponents of the educational system argued that the returning pupils tended to elevate the people. In rebuttal, Jones answered that even if this happened in individual cases, it never would change the whole tribe.

> It may be possible in time to purify a fountain by cleansing its turbid waters as they pour forth and then returning them to their original source. But experience is against it. For centuries pure fresh-water streams have poured their floods into the Great Salt Lake, and its waters are salt still.[1]

Jones felt that only day schools should be established, and that the education of the Indian children be limited to learning to transact the ordinary business of life. The key was the home, and improvement must begin there. The Indian "should be thrown entirely on his own resources to become a useful member of the community in which he lives, or not, according as he exerts himself or fails to make an effort."[2]

Commissioner Jones "position that the tribes tended to "consume" their children, turning them back to the ways of the group, had validity. This point was proven time after time. The question to be asked was: what could have been done about it at that point in time?

The Act of April 30, 1908, made permanent a provision giving the Commissioner of Indian Affairs control over expenditures for school purposes among the Indians. The expenditures for the education of any one Indian pupil had been limited to the amount of $167. per year except in certain cases. Larger expenditures would be needed if Indian pupils were to be transported and placed "under care and control of such suitable white families as may in all respects be qualified to give such pupils moral, industrial and educational training."[1]

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[1] W. A. Jones, Commissioner. Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1901, pp. 1-3.

[2] Ibid., pp. 4-6.

In 1911, 1,000 Indians out of a total of 1,123 at Fort Berthold, wore modern attire.[2] Out of 329 persons eligible for school attendance, 58 were not in school, 66 were in non-contract boarding schools, 129 in non-reservation boarding schools, and 76 in day schools.[3] There were four day schools and two mission schools on the Reservation. The day schools had adopted the State Course of Study whenever practicable but the students were having trouble doing the work outlined. The boys were given instruction in gardening and the girls in sewing, cooking, and housework. In the schoolroom of the day schools the classwork was limited to the primary level and few pupils remained in school long enough to complete the 5th grade. However, they were as well prepared to do Reservation work as were the graduates of the non-Reservation boarding school students, probably due to the fact that the day school students had been taught the use of the simple tools which were being used on the Reservation.[4]

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[1] Robert G. Valentine, Commissioner. Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1909, p. 17.

[2] Robert G. Valentine, Commissioner. Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1911, p. 61.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 55.

[4] Charles G. Hoffman, Superintendent. Fort Berthold Narrative Reports. National Archives, Record group 75, 1911, pp. 6-7.

Neither one of the Mission schools received any Government moneys to aid in their support. The A.M.S. supported school accommodated twelve boarding girls and the Sacred Heart Mission School boarded 50 pupils, both boys and girls.[1]

The academic work in the day schools did not go beyond the 4th grade. The intention was to conduct the day schools so that "they will, by example and precept, have an uplifting influence on the old Indians who live in the neighborhood, and to induce the old Indians to see what their children are doing so that the influence of the school will be felt right in the homes of the Indians."[2]

Agent Hoffman described the work of one of the teachers, Mr. Jackson, at Shell Creek (see map, p. 229), who was apparently successful in teaching his pupils to speak English:

> Aside from such practical work connected as it is with the actual garden work outside, the teacher builds from the ground up with the work of the school room properly basing everything to the understanding of the children. His store and text books he has made and uses both in arithmetic and language, also his notes on physiology and health, all show the keen interest he takes in his work and the good that is being done at No. 3 Day School.[3]

In the fall of 1911, the Government leased the Catholic Mission school buildings and turned them into a Government contract boarding school, retaining all of the employees.[4]

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[1] *Ibid.*, p. 7.

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 8-9.

[3] Charles G. Hoffman, Superintendent. *Fort Berthold Narrative Reports*. National Archives, Record group 75, 1912, p. 4.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 5.

The reservation schools did not graduate pupils but in its stead made them eligible for transfer to some non-reservation school, or allowed them to immediately start making a living. Often the day school pupils did better on the reservation than those who had the advantage of non-reservation school education. Their deficiency in personal appearance and knowledge frequently was offset by their perseverance. There was a library at the agency office and at the boarding school for the use of the teachers only.[1]

A demonstration farm was started in 1913. Stock was purchased with the object of raising first class stock and then distributing the increase among the Indians to raise the standards of their own animals. The farm's seed products were distributed among the Indians with the understanding that they be returned with a ten per cent increase.[2]

The younger people, especially those who have received an education, adopted the white man's form of dancing and did not participate in the Indian dances except as spectators. The older Indians danced about six times a year, dancing the "Grass Dance," and their "gift giving" was restricted to moccasins, feathers, and other inexpensive articles.[3]

By 1914, there were three religious denominations on the Reservation; Congregational, Catholic, and a newly started Episcopal Church which was established in the Armstrong district, about sixteen miles east of the agency.[1] A fourth, the Mormon religion, started "taking hold" and by 1915, had seven members. Services were being held in the homes.[2]

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[1] Ibid., pp. 16-18.

[2] Ibid., pp. 21-22.

[3] Ernest W. Jermark, Superintendent. Fort Berthold Narrative Reports. National Archives, Record group 75, 1914, pp. 3-4.

Until then the use of intoxicating liquor had not been a big problem since the Reservation was established. The younger members of the tribes were the ones who became intoxicated; so, as a method of control, stiff jail sentences were imposed upon the drinkers.[3] The alcoholic beverages were obtained from "bootleggers" who generally were living in towns surrounding the Reservation. By 1936, Agent Beyer reported that gonorrhea and syphilis were on the increase and that the problem was aggravated by the action of medicine men treating the disease. At least one death was reported as directly caused by this form of treatment.[4]

Course of Study

In 1916, Commissioner Cato Sells introduced a new, uniform course of study for all Indian schools in the Federal educational system of the Indian Service. The new system was designed to allow Indian children to be able to enter public schools, train Indian youth to assume the duties and responsibilities of citizenship, and provide for instruction along practical lines.

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[1] Ibid., p. 6.

[2] Ernest W. Jermark, Superintendent. Fort Berthold Narrative Reports. National Archives, Record group 75, 1915, p. 7.

[3] Ibid., p. 7.

[4] William R. Beyer, Agent. Fort Berthold Narrative Reports. National Archives, Record group 75, 1935, pp. 9-10.

The course of study was separated into three divisions: 1) primary, 2) prevocational, and 3) vocational. The primary division included the first three grades, the prevocational included the next three grades, and the vocational division offered a four-year course the sixth grade. The boarding school at Fort Berthold was closed in the fall of 1916, leaving only day schools in operation on the Reservation. The course of study for the primary grades was organized as follows:

OUTLINE OF COURSE OF STUDY

Primary Division

Day Schools

The time assigned to a subject indicates its relative importance.

First Grade:

- General Exercises.... (15 Minutes.)
  - Music
  - Manners and Right Conduct.
- English.............. (90 Minutes.)
  - Conversational and other oral exercises.
    - Personal experiences and observations.
    - Nature Study.
    - Health.
    - Activities of school, home, and community.
    - History.
    - Picture study.
    - Reproductions.
    - Stories.
    - Dramatization.
    - Numbers, etc.
    - Memory work.
  - Reading.
  - Spelling.
- Writing and drawing (alternate). (20 Minutes.)
- Industrial Work. (60 Minutes.)
- Occupation and Study (85 Minutes.)
- Recreation. (90 Minutes.)

Second Grade:

- General Exercises.... (15 Minutes.)
  - Music.
  - Manners and Right Conduct.
- English.............. (70 Minutes.)
  - Conversational and other oral exercises.
    - Expand on work of first grade.
    - Health.
    - History.
    - Geography.
  - Reading.
  - Spelling.
- Numbers. (20 Minutes.)
- Writing and Drawing (alternate). (20 Minutes.)
- Industrial work...... (60 Minutes.)
  - Sanitation.
  - Gardening.
  - Sewing.
- Occupation work and study. (85 Minutes.)
- Recreation. (90 Minutes.)

Third Grade:

- General Exercises.... (15 Minutes)
  - Music.
  - Civics.
  - Manners and Right Conduct.
- English.............. (70 Minutes.)
  - Conversational and other oral exercises.
    - Continue work of second grade.
    - Health.
    - History.
    - Geography.
    - Gardening.
    - School activities, as games, industrial work, etc.
  - Reading.
  - Spelling.
  - Language (written and mechanics).
- Arithmetic. (30 Minutes.)
- Writing and Drawing (alternate). (20 Minutes.)
  - Gardening.
  - Repair work.
  - Sanitation

Third Grade-Continued.
Industrial Work*..... | Sewing.
(90 Minutes.) | Cooking.
| Housekeeping.
Occupation work and study.
(105 Minutes.)
Recreation.
(90 Minutes.)

*All the pupils in the first and second grades who have reached the age of 10 years are to be given this work.[1]

Peyton Carter, Superintendent of the Wahpeton Indian School at Wahpeton, North Dakota, was assigned the task of installing this system in the schools at Fort Berthold. He visited the Reservation on May 15, 16, and 17 and reported that the building owned by the Bureau of Catholic Indian Missions and rented by the Government for the boarding school would need a great deal of modification, at the expense of the owners, if the new course of study was to be effective.[2] The boarding school was abolished by order of the Indian Office during the fall of 1916. It continued to operate as the Roman Catholic Mission Boarding School financed by sources other than the Government.[3]

Sells also announced a new policy for Indian children whose parents are able to pay for their education. "Such children shall not hereafter be enrolled in Government Indian schools supported by gratuity appropriations, except on payment of actual per capita cost and transportation."[1] It was part of his program to give competent Indians complete control of their property rights so that they could work out their own destiny.

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[1] Cato Sells, Commissioner. Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1916, pp. 10-23.

[2] Peyton Carter, Superintendent, Wahpeton Indian School. Letter to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Washington, D. C., June 30, 1916, National Archives, Record group 75.

[3] Ernest W. Jermark, Superintendent. Fort Berthold Narrative Report. National Archives, Record group 75, 1917, p. 12.

Uniform final examinations were taken by pupils completing each academic or industrial course. These were held during the week beginning June 4 for the year 1917.[2]

On the Fort Berthold Reservation, the course of study for the United States Indian Schools could not be adopted in its entirety since some of the outlines for work and experiments needed more equipment than could be provided in day schools with an attendance ranging from 15 to 25 pupils.[3] Training for home-building continued to receive the most attention in the school program; stock raising and small grain farming received secondary emphasis.[4]

The Federal Course of Study was revised in 1922:

> As now revised the course will parallel more closely the grades of the public schools in which there is a rapidly increasing enrollment of Indian children and the industrial courses are improved to harmonize with the academic revision, some additional work being provided relating to gas engines and auto mechanics to meet the ever increasing demand of the times.[5]

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[1] Cato Sells, Commissioner. Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1917, pp. 4-5.

[2] Ibid., p. 11.

[3] Jermark, op. cit., 1917, p. 12.

[4] Ibid., pp. 14-16.

[5] Charles H. Burke, Commissioner. Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1922, p. 5.

School Problems

Indian student enrollment decreased with the closing of the Fort Berthold Boarding School. Statistics show that for the fiscal year ending on June 30, 1918, there were 302 children eligible for enrollment but only 180 actually attended school, leaving 122 Indian children not in school.[1] Jermark commented that "many of the parents will not agree to send the smaller children to non-reservation schools and consequently many children who would attend a boarding school were it located on the Reservation are not receiving schooling to any extent until they are old enough to be sent away from home."[2] This made a problem for these students since, when they finally went to boarding school, they were placed in a class with children who might be half their ages.

The Armstrong School was closed in 1919 and a public school was organized at Elbowoods (agency headquarters) early in 1920 (see map. p. 229). Jermark felt that with the denominational schools on the reservation and non-reservation schools which were available for their students, there was an ample opportunity for "schooling" for the Indian children. He gave some insight on the value of Government schools in the following comments:

> For the reason that as long as there are old people of the Indian blood residing with the younger generations, it will be necessary to continue the schools under Government jurisdiction, unless, of course, the lands are fee patented to a

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[1] Cato Sells, Commissioner. Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1928, p. 168.

[2] Ernest W. Jermack, Superintendent. Fort Berthold Narrative Reports, National Archives, Record group 75, 1919, sec. III, p. 6.

> great extent, thus causing an influx of white settlers with the resulting district schools.
>
> An unusual influence seems to be exerted by a grandparent over the child in practically all instances, causing the child to distrust schooling of whatever source. Granting that the patenting of lands would bring an influx of white settlers, it is not recommended as a just proposition at this particular time, when land taxes are probably at their highest point, to grant a great many...patents in fee.[1]

The following amendment was approved on February 28, 1921, concerning enrollment and attendance of Indian children in school, pursuant to the Act of February 14, 1920, which read in part:

> Hereafter the Secretary of the Interior is authorized to make and enforce such rules and regulations as may be necessary to secure the enrollment and regular attendance of eligible Indian children who are wards of the Government in schools maintained for their benefit by the United States or in the public schools.[2]

The use of Indian day schools and public schools was hereafter to be encouraged.

At Fort Berthold, a public school was already in operation at Elbowoods. Shell Creek Day School was turned over to the county, becoming a public school in 1921. This meant that the only school still being operated by the Government was at Independence (see map, p. 229).[3]

Five public schools were in session during the school year of 1922-23. One was located about five miles from the agency, while the other four were situated at Elbowoods, Ree, Sig, and Shell Creek (see map, p. 229). However, Shell Creek School was turned back to the Government starting with the fall term. The basic problem was that so little of the land was taxable that the school could not be properly supported by the county. Approximately 200 of the Fort Berthold children were sent to non-reservation boarding schools.[1]

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[1] Jermark, op. cit., 1920, sec. III.

[2] Charles H. Burke, Commissioner. Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1921, pp. 7-9.

[3] Jermark, Op. cit., 1921, sec. III.

Ree School closed as a public school in 1926 followed by Sig School in 1927. These schools had operated as public schools for a little over five years.[2]

The existing law (Act of February 21, 1925) permitted the expenditure of $300.00 per pupil per year for schools having an enrollment of less than 200 pupils, and $270.00 for those with 200 or more pupils.[3] Congress had been trying to economize, and it got to the point where Commissioner Charles Burke said "It is generally admitted that the economies which Federal Indian schools have been compelled to practice have been harmful, and more adequate funds will have to be provided if Indian education is to advance."[4]

Meriam Survey

In 1928, as the result of an invitation by the Indian Service, a survey was completed by the Institute for Government Research, a private company, to determine the social and economic conditions of the Indians. The report, titled "The Problem of Indian Administration," and known as the Meriam Survey in honor of the technical director, contained many suggestions for the betterment of all branches of the service. Some of the findings were of special interest:

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[1] Jermark, op. cit., 1923, sec. III, pp. 7-9.

[2] Lewis W. Page, Superintendent. Fort Berthold Narrative Report. National Archives, Record group 75, 1926, 1927, sec. III.

[3] Chas. H. Burke, Commissioner. Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1928, p. 16.

[4] Ibid., p. 17.

1) The provisions for the care of Indian children in boarding schools were inadequate.

2) The diet was deficient in quality, quantity, and variety. Protective foods were notably lacking.

3) Boarding schools were overcrowded beyond their capacities.

4) Medical attention in all schools was not up to reasonable standards.

5) Boarding schools were in part supported by the labor of the students. Half time was not enough for studies.

6) The Indian Service was weak in personnel trained and experienced in educational work with families and communities.

7) The welfare of the Indians was not of interest to the Government after they left school.

8) Education should have reached adults as well as the children.[1]

Boarding Schools

The situation in the boarding schools was of special importance to the Fort Berthold Indians in lieu of the fact that in 1928, an average year, there were 172 students enrolled in non-reservation boarding schools, and 107 students in private boarding schools. This meant that a total of 272 out of 375 eligible students (73 per cent) from the Fort Berthold Reservation attended boarding schools.[1]

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[1] Lewis Meriam, Technical Director. The Problem of Indian Administration, a survey made by the Institute for Government Research. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1928, pp. 347-429.

Commissioner Charles Rhoads noted in 1929 that the Indian children in government schools were about two years older, on an average, than the normal age-grade standard. This was due, in his opinion, to the failure to get the young Indian child in school.[2] Superintendent Stanion at Fort Berthold reported that practically all of the children of school age who were physically fit but who were not in school were, for the greater part, beginners. The parents kept them home since they did not want to send them to boarding schools at their age.[3]

The limit on the per capita cost of educating Indians in boarding schools was abolished by the Act of March 2, 1929. Some of the deficiencies of boarding schools, which resulted from limited finances, were then eliminated.[4] By 1930, the program for Indian education included increased appropriations, higher qualifications, raised standards for teachers, changes in the curriculum, and improved textbooks. The concentration remained on enrolling Indian students into public schools.[5]

The first evidence of change at Fort Berthold was the replacement of their day school plants with new modern buildings. They were occupied in 1931.[1]

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[1] Burke, op. cit., 1928, p. 52.

[2] Rhoads, op. cit., 1929, pp. 6-7.

[3] Ralph P. Stanion, Superintendent. Fort Berthold Narrative Reports. National Archives, Record group 75, 1929, sec. III, pp. 1-2.

[4] Rhoads, op. cit., 1929, p. 7.

[5] Rhoads, op. cit., 1930, pp. 6-10.

EDUCATIONAL PHILOSOPHY

Commissioner Rhoads argued that one of the faults of the non-reservation boarding school was the way the Indian children were educated. The local and individual needs of the students were not taken into consideration, nor was there any program of family followup. Emphasis should have been placed on having a social worker (visiting teacher), whose duties consisted of working between the home and the school, and who would have been available full time on every reservation. This would have meant using local school facilities since off-reservation schools could not have a local program. By reducing the use of boarding schools, more money would have been available for a new program of local and community education.[2]

The problem was critical for the Fort Berthold Indians. In 1931, there were 459 children from six to eighteen years of age on the Reservation. Of these, 43 were enrolled in reservation day schools; 54 in non-reservation boarding schools; 111 in Mission boarding schools; and 51 in local public schools. There were, therefore, 200 children not in school at all and 165 in reservation boarding schools.[3]

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[1] Lewis W. Page, Superintendent. Fort Berthold Narrative Reports. National Archives, Record group 75, 1931, sec. III, pp. 5-6.

[2] Charles J. Rhoads, Commissioner. Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1931, pp. 4-8.

[3] Rhoads, *op. cit.*, 1931, p. 60.

SURVEY ON FORT BERTHOLD SCHOOLS

Carl M. Moore, Supervisor of Indian Education, made a study of the conditions at Fort Berthold in 1932. This and follow up studies represented the best evaluations available of their school situation to date.

Moore stated that there were approximately 100 pupils in eight grades being taught in the public school at Elboweeds by three teachers. Two of the teachers were working in a building scarcely large enough for one standard classroom and the other was working in a building belonging to the Protestant Mission which was later destroyed by fire. Since there was no public school building in Elbowoods, it was recommended that a centrally located one be built at Elbowoods as a first step in improving conditions. The Government tentatively allotted $30,000 for such a building.

Excerpts from the Moore Report showed the condition of the Reservation schools:

> GENERAL FACTS
>
> The reservation contains an area of approximately 639,350 acres and an Indian population carried on the rolls of 1,535. A few of these live off the reservation. The school population according to the last census is 447 for ages 6-16. If ages 6-18 are taken, the approximate number is 487. These according to the best figures obtainable were distributed in schools as follows:
>
> Indian Bureau Boarding Schools

Bismarck Indian School	43
Pipestone Indian School	24
Wahpeton Indian School	16
Salem Indian School	8
Pierre Indian School	6
Chiloco Indian School	7
Standing Rock Indian School	3
Rapid City Indian School	3
Genoa Indian School	2
Haskell Indian School	3
Total	115

Mission Schools

Sacred Heart Catholic	60
Santee Mission	16
Total	76

Indian Bureau Day Schools

Shell*	42
Independence*	35
Total	77

*actual attendance fell considerably below these figures.

Other Schools, mostly public and largely on the reservation 77 of these were in the public school at Elbowoods.	145
Reported not in school mostly for justifiable reasons	74
GRAND TOTAL	487

SCHOOL FACILITIES ON THE RESERVATION

The school facilities existing on the reservation last year consisted of the following:

Six public schools including Elbowoods. Five of these had Indian children in attendance. All of these are in McLean County.

One Catholic mission school at Elbowoods.

Two Indian Bureau day schools, one in McLean County and one in Dunn County.

Superintendent McCullough has planned to increase school facilities for 1933-34 as follows:

Three new public schools. One of these is to be conducted in a worked-over Indian dance hall. Another will be housed in a Catholic Chapel and the third in a Mormon Church.

One Indian Bureau day school to be operated in Episcopal Church. There is a good cottage here that will serve as quarters for the teacher and housekeeper. For the present year the assignment of a teacher and a housekeeper to operate an

> Indian Bureau Day School here is perhaps the best that can be done, but every effort should be made to change to a public school next year. . .[1]

R. L. Spalsbury, Superintendent of Indian Schools, at large, made another survey the following summer (1934). He summarized the conditions as he found them: There was a small Catholic Mission School, three Indian Service day schools and about a dozen public schools. Several Indian communities had no local school facilities so the children had to be sent away to non-reservation schools. This was becoming more difficult since the new federal policy of closing boarding schools began to take effect.

State law required that there must be a taxable property valuation of $12,000 in any district desiring to have a public school. In many cases, if the Government would supply the buildings, there would be enough public funds to support a public school. One of the reasons public schools had trouble financing their operations was that tuition payments from the Federal Government were based on the number of days a pupil attended school during the year. Since Indian student attendance was very erratic, the amount of tuition varied a great deal while the overhead remained constant. It was, therefore, difficult for a public school to organize its finances so as to function properly.

Spalsbury recommended that the Government:

> 1. Complete the road system which had been started and surface them with gravel, particularly those portions which served the proposed schools.

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[1] Carl M. Moore, Supervisor. Letter to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Washington, D. C., September 1, 1933, National Archives, Record group 75, 40205-33-800.

2. Organize the local school system on a consolidated basis as far as possible.

3. Construct a three room school building suited to the needs of the Nishu district at a cost of $15,000 (see map, p. 229).

4. Begin immediately the actual construction of the central high school building at Elbowoods for which $30,000 had been allotted but for which another $30,000 would be needed before it was finished. It could be built on the unit system if properly planned as various cities in California had done.

5. Construct a two room school building in the Lucky Mound district at a cost of $10,000 (see map, p. 229).

6. Build a three room consolidated school at Sunnyside community to serve it, the Independence, and the Saddle Butte communities through transportation of pupils at a cost of $15,000. One teacher could occupy the existing Independence quarters and drive the bus daily from that section.

7. Build a two room school building at the Shell Creek Day School and consolidate the public school and the Mormon Church with it, at a cost of $10,000.

8. Not build a school in the Riverside community south of the new bridge but transport those children to the school at Elbowoods.

9. Build two day schools of the one teacher type at or near the places indicated at a cost of $5,000 each making a total of $10,000 in the Red Butte District (see map, p. 229).

10. Build a one room school building for the Beaver Creek district at a cost of $5,000 (see map, p. 229).
Note: The development of this school system to meet the needs of this reservation calls for an expenditure of $125,000 including that already available for the building at Elbowoods, or an additional allotment of $95,000. It is based on $5,000 per school room which should also provide necessary quarters if we resist the temptation to put up only fancy buildings out here on the prairie.[1]

11. Provide an educational agent who would need quarters at Elbowoods.[2]

To understand what was happening, it can be recalled that originally, the Fort Berthold Indians lived in villages whereby a single school, located at or near the village, would serve the needs of the whole tribe. With the coming of the allotment system, the Indians were spread throughout a larger territory, living on their own land where they had established their new homes. Instead of building small schools in specific areas and building roads for a bussing system to transport those pupils who lived in isolated places, the Indian Service was content to enroll the students in boarding schools. Indian parents naturally resisted a situation which sent their six and seven year old children away from the reservation to school, so these children seldom entered school before they were eight years old. The fallacies of the boarding school system, which took the children away from their homes and their people, became apparent to the Indian Service during the late 1920's and early 1930's. As a result, the Government began to withold their tuition support, causing them to close. This action put additional pressure on the Indian Service to provide local educational facilities. Spalsbury's recommendations were a comprehensive answer to the deficiencies on the Fort Berthold Reservation and came at a time when there was sufficient national interest in Indian affairs to generate a new program.

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[1] R. L. Spalsbury, Superintendent of Indian Schools at Large. Letter to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Washington, D. C., September 4, 1934, National Archives, Record Group No. 75, 44964-33-800.

[2] Ibid.

PROGRESS IN EDUCATION

In reviewing the progress of the Indians on the reservations of the United States, Commissioner Collier pointed out that there was a need for a redistribution of educational opportunity for Indians, which would mean removing them from the concentrated boarding school, where it reached the few, and placing them into the day school, where many would be reached. Most boarding schools would be closed and those remaining open had to specialize along occupational lines which allowed them to accommodate both children and older groups while the day schools concentrated on community service, reaching the adult as well as the child, influencing the health, recreation, and economic welfare of the local areas.[1]

The forms of the school programs were designed to provide learning experiences which would relate directly to the child's environmental background. Day schools were to be community conscious and reach out to affect the community.[2]

At Fort Berthold, the Congregational Mission closed the teaching portion of their Mission, sending them to the day school at Elbowoods, but kept their dormitory open. They erected a girls' dormitory and gymnasium with a capacity of about 75 children.[3] For the school year ending June 30, 1933, 88 children were sent to non-reservation schools,[4] but this total dropped to 17 for the year ending June 30, 1934.[5] A government day school was opened on November 1, 1933, and an additional teacher was allowed at Shell Creek Day School.[6]

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[1] Collier, op. cit., 1933, pp. 68-71.

[2] Ibid., p. 75.

[3] H. D. McCullough. Fort Berthold Narrative Reports. National Archives, Record group 75, 1933, sec. IV, p. 1.

[4] Ibid.

[5] William R. Beyer, Superintendent. Fort Berthold Narrative Reports. National Archives, Record group 75, 1934, sec. IV, p. 1.

[6] Ibid.

Superintendent Beyer announced in 1935 that $90,000 of Public Works Administration (PWA) money was being appropriated for the construction of additional school buildings on the Reservation. He also noted that the pupils who were being given board and room at the Sacred Heart Catholic Mission and the Congregational Mission, were sustained by the payment of $10 per month per pupil from Federally held funds owned by minors. These funds were running out which would cause the mission boarding schools to cut back their programs.[1] However, in 1937, funds allocated under the Foster Care Program allowed $10 per month for each of the 9 children at the Congregational Mission and 10 at Sacred Heart School.[2]

In 1935, Congress appropriated $175,000 under the Indian Reorganization Act for scholarship loans to Indians and an additional gratuity fund of $15,000 for payment of tuition and fees in nonsectarian schools. Of the total, $35,000 was available for high schools and colleges and $140,000 for training in recognized vocational schools.[3] The Government's support for vocational education was again emphasized by this substantial appropriation.

In 1936, an education field agent was appointed to the Fort Berthold Agency. He was placed in charge of the Elbowoods Day School, which was a modern four room brick building completed by the start of the 1936 school year; it was designed to accommodate 100 pupils, but actually had to handle 150. It included two years of high school, but the school was so crowded that additional classes had to be conducted in the basement.[1]

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[1] Wm. R. Beyer, Superintendent. Fort Berthold Narrative Reports. National Archives, Record group 75, 1935, sec. IV, pp. 11-12.

[2] Wm. R. Beyer, Superintendent. Fort Berthold Narrative Reports. National Archives, Record group 75, 1937, sec. IV, p. 14.

[3] John Collier, Commissioner. Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1936, p. 172.

The Government took over the operation of the public schools at Lucky Mound, Red Butte, Little Missouri, and Beaver Creek starting in the fall of 1937 (see map, p. 229).[2]

A report of the first year's operations under the new educational field agent, Principal Christian H. Beitzel, gives an indication of the extent that the Government acted on R. L. Spalsbury's earlier recommendations:

> We have 566 children of school age listed on our 1938 school census, which is an increase of 51 over last year. These children were enrolled at the various schools as shown below:
>
> | | |
> |---|---|
> | Reservation Government Day Schools | 277 |
> | Non-Reservation Government (Boarding) | 21 |
> | Mission (Boarding) | 19 |
> | Sanatorium | 2 |
> | Public Schools | 186 |
>
> NOT ENROLLED
>
> | | |
> |---|---|
> | Physically Unfit | 3 |
> | Married | 4 |
> | Feeble Minded | 1 |
> | Too Young | 46 |
> | Various Reasons and no Information | 7 |
> | Total | 566 |
>
> In addition to the above enrollment we had 31 who were over eighteen years of age that attended various schools.
>
> The seven Government day schools on the Reservation had the following enrollments for the school year of 1937-1938:

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[1] William R. Beyer, Superintendent. *Fort Berthold Narrative Reports*. National Archives, Record group 75, 1936, sec. IV, pp. 12-13.

[2] Beyer, *op. cit.*, 1937, sec. IV, p. 14.

Shell Creek Day School	(3 teachers)	65
Nishu	(3 teachers)	76
Independence	(2 teachers)	57
Red Butte	(1 teacher)	16
Lucky Mound	(1 teacher)	30
Little Missouri	(1 teacher)	23
Beaver Creek	(1 teacher)	18

(see map, p. 229)

> You will note that the total number of children is more than listed in the above, this is due to the fact that a number of children were transferred from one school to another during the school year and counted twice.[1]

There were 277 students enrolled in reservation government day schools, 186 in public schools, 21 in non-reservation government boarding schools, and 19 in Mission boarding schools. The Government operated seven day schools employing eleven teachers. School busses were operating in the Shell Creek, Independence and Nishu districts. Ten public schools enrolled Indian children. Elbowoods served 150 pupils, provided transportation to 50, and served a noon meal to all students in attendance. Parent-Teacher organizations (PTA) and garden clubs were organized throughout the Reservation. The Government planned to operate the Elbowoods Day School beginning with the fall term of 1938.[2]

On October 16, 1940, Assistant Attorney-General P. O. Sathre wrote an opinion in a letter to Hon. Arthur E. Thompson, Superintendent of Public Instruction, Bismarck, N. Dak., in which he approved as constitutional, a proposed agreement which would allow the state government to pay nonresident tuition for white citizens who attended government schools when the government schools met the standards of and were accredited by the State Department of Public Instruction. This action opened the door for complete cooperation with the Public School System in North Dakota and the Indians belonging to the Reservations.[1]

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[1] C. H. Beitzel, Principal. Fort Berthold Narrative Reports. National Archives, Record group 75, 1938, p. 15.

[2] Ibid.

By 1941, the Government Community School at Elbowoods had finished three years of successful cooperation and was accredited as a four year high school by the State of North Dakota.[2] Included in the total enrollment of reservation schools were 28 white children attending at Elbowoods and 3 at Beaver Creek.[3] Beitzel reports that "the Public School District paid the salary of one elementary grade teacher, rented the Congregational Mission building for a classroom, and hired a janitor and a cook in lieu of tuition for the white children attending the school."[4]

The Elbowoods School began to function as the central finishing school, allowing the children who attended their home community school (through the eight grades) to transfer to the central school to take

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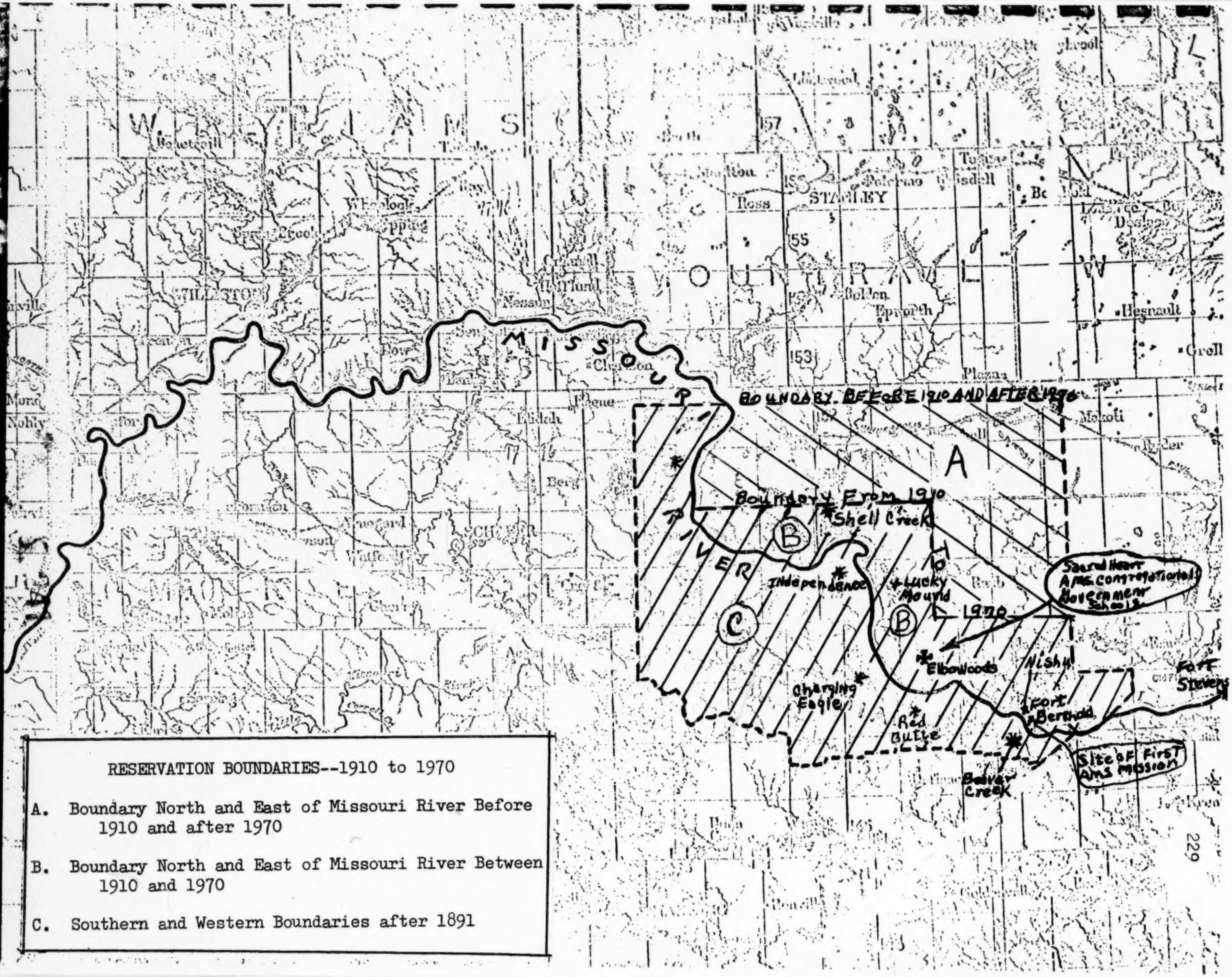
[1] P. O. Sathre, Assistant Attorney General. Letter to Hon. Arthur E. Thompson, Superintendent of Public Instruction, Bismarck, North Dakota, October 16, 1940, National Archives, Record group 75, 2391-37-803.

[2] C. H. Beitzel, Principal. Fort Berthold Narrative Reports, National Archives, Record group 75, sec. 4, p. 18.

[3] Ibid., sec. IV, p. 17.

[4] Ibid., sec. IV, p. 18.


MISSOURI RIVER
BOUNDARY BEFORE 1910 AND AFTER 1970
A
Boundary From 1910
B
C
1970
Shell Creek
Independence
Lucky Mound
Elbowoods
Nishu
Charging Eagle
Red Butte
Fort Berthold
Beaver Creek
Fort Stevens
Sacred Heart
AMS Congregational
Government Schools
Site of First AMS Mission
WILLIAMS
MOUNTRAIL
WILLISTON
STANLEY
Ross
Epworth
Belden
Plaza
Makoti
Ryder
Hesnault
Groll
Nesson
Charlson
Berg
155
157
153

RESERVATION BOUNDARIES--1910 to 1970

A. Boundary North and East of Missouri River Before 1910 and after 1970

B. Boundary North and East of Missouri River Between 1910 and 1970

C. Southern and Western Boundaries after 1891 their vocational training. Promising students were encouraged to go on for professional training upon graduation.[1]

SUMMARY

The allotment system, which began with the passage of the Dawes Act of February 8, 1887, attempted to force the Indians to live on their own isolated farms. In order to do this, they had to move away from their local villages and live as individual families over a large geographical territory. At the same time, education, in the form of schools, was becoming available for the education of the young. Since small rural schools, together with transportation facilities for the children who lived in isolated places, were not available, the Indian parents tended to keep their children home until they were eight years old and then send them either to a Mission boarding school on the Reservation or to a government boarding school off the Reservation. In either case, there was a minimal amount of contact between the parents and their children during the school year with the predictable result that the educational program failed to reach the adult, depriving all of the Reservation people of much of the type of information which would speed up the assimilation process.

Under the Hoover administration the Indian Service began to sense that something was wrong with their method of handling Indian affairs. The Meriam Survey was completed to determine the causes. Its findings were gradually being implemented and a new direction was being taken even before the "New Deal" was established under President

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[1] Ibid., pp. 19-20.

Franklin Roosevelt early in 1933, when John Collier was the Commissioner of Indian Affairs.

Following a Senate investigation, Congress passed the Indian Reorganization Act (see p. 74), better known as the Howard-Wheeler Act, in June of 1934. This action marked a definite change of policy in which emphasis was placed on the assumption that the Indian communities should be economically and socially assisted to the point that they might choose and develop their own patterns of adjustment. The Government's ultimate goal, assimilation, remained the same. The means of achieving this goal took a one hundred and eighty degree turn from the original position of acculturating individuals as a method of Indian assimilation. Intertribal and tribal communication was given high priority, with the Tribal Council regaining some of its lost power and prestige.

The vast amount of social legislation which was passed for the general public in the United States, also became available to the Indians on reservations, thus marking the beginning of the policy to treat Indians in the same manner as any other group.

The Fort Berthold people had responded favorably toward the new programs and had made great strides toward self sufficiency by the time that World War II brought about changes in their social system. The Reservation lost many of its leaders since some of their best young men went into the service and others worked in defense plants. Those who left the reservation became acquainted with the money economy of the non-Indian world.

Problems arose from the 1944 decision to build the Garrison Dam. The Garrison Reservoir subsequently inundated all of the best land upon which the Fort Berthold people earned their living. The problems which followed their relocation are still unresolved by the Fort Berthold people.

CHAPTER V

MODERN PERIOD 1950 - ON

John Collier noted that the problem facing the Indian was essentially the world problem of "reconciling the rights of small groups to cultural independence with the necessity for larger economic units demanded by modern methods of mass production and distribution."[1] The Indian had a right to have cultural independence but this position had to be reconciled with the demands for adjustment to modern technologies.[2] (This position was examined in this paper since it is still a critical area of the Indian problem.)

By September 3, 1939, western Europe was involved in World War II but throughout 1940 and most of 1941 the United States remained officially neutral while giving aid to allies in any manner possible short of war. However, on December 7, 1941, the Japanese attacked the U. S. Pacific Fleet at Pearl Harbor and the people of the United States found themselves officially at war.[3]

Many of the Indians living on the reservations of the United States responded to the war in two general ways: first, they enlisted or were drafted into the services; second, they worked in defense industries.[4] Indian schools were organized so as to adjust their curricula to defense needs, and the people remaining on the reservations adjusted their lives in such a way as to help defense needs.[1]

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[1] John Collier, Commissioner. Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs. Washinton: Government Printing Office, 1941, p. 77.

[2] Ibid.

[3] Graebner, et al., op. cit., pp. 1100-1107.

[4] Ibid., p. 410.

Germany surrendered on May 8, 1945, and Japan on August 10, 1945.[2] Many changes followed the end of World War II. Defense plants closed terminating defense jobs. Included in these totals were 40,000 Indians engaged in war work and 25,000 Indian men and women who served in the armed forces. Family income took a downward trend. Indians who had never before left the reservations now came home from the far reaches of the world. Standards of living had risen and veteran benefits acquired.[3]

GARRISON DAM

At the Fort Berthold Reservation, proposed construction of the Garrison Dam and Reservoir by the Corps of Engineers was discussed and finances were made available for the Missouri River Basin Investigations Unit to study the Indian lands in the basin.[4] The proposed Garrison Dam and Reservoir involved at least 145,000 acres (depending on the height of the dam) of the Fort Berthold Indian Reservation, necessitating the removal and rehabilitation of approximately three-quarters of the resident Indian population.

Section 6 of the 1947 Civil Functions Appropriation Act of the

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[1] Ibid., pp. 411, 413.

[2] Graebner, et al., op. cit., pp. 1120, 1126.

[3] William A. Brophy, Commissioner. Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1946, p. 351.

[4] Ibid., pp. 378-379.

War Department, approved May 2, 1946, required the Secretary of War to select and offer to the Fort Berthold Indians, prior to January 1, 1947, substitute lands of comparable quality and sufficient area to compensate for the lands to be flooded. The Three Affiliated Tribes of the Fort Berthold Indian Reservation consistently opposed the construction at the proposed site, proposing an alternate site further up the river, a plan which the Government rejected.[1]

On November 21, 1946, the Secretary of War presented to the Three Affiliated Tribes of the Fort Berthold Reservation, through the Secretary of the Interior, an offer of land totaling 159,000 acres located below the proposed dam site. This location contained a large acreage of river bottom and timber lands and would have provided the protection needed in the winter for livestock, although it possessed less irrigable acreage and fewer coal deposits. The Fort Berthold Tribal Business Council passed a resolution dated December 11, 1946, which notified the Secretary of War that the offer was rejected as not fulfilling the requirements of sufficiency and comparability stipulated in the Appropriation Act.[2]

Actually, the lands below the dam (see Map, p. 237) had excellent possibilities for irrigation whereas the inundated land could not be so used nor could the reservation area which was located above the level of the reservoir be irrigated. The total land holdings would have been diminished by only about 10,000 acres leaving the Indians with a large base of productive land. The land below the dam was developed to about its maximum capacity including buildings, a network of roads, and access to other public facilities. The alternative to this type of settlement was a cash payment and relocation on the underdeveloped prairie land remaining as part of the reservation, without roads or public buildings and a diminished acreage. The Indians chose the alternative which proved to be an unfortunate decision.[1]

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[1] Ibid., pp. 378-379.

[2] William A. Brophy, Commissioner. Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1947, pp. 366-367.

The Civil Functions Appropriation Act of 1948 authorized the payment of $5,105,625 as compensation for the taking of lands and for the cost of removing Indians' homes. The contract secured the written approval of two-thirds of the adult members of the tribes and the Tribal Business Council, and was approved by the Secretary of the Interior on May 20, 1948.[2]

Congress passed a modified version of the original contract, the Act of October 29, 1949 (Public Law 437, 81st Congress, 1st Session), which provided for a payment of $5,105,625 to pay for the lands and improvements thereon and for the costs of relocating and reestablishing the tribal members who were residing in the "taking" area. In addition, the sum of $7,500,000 was allocated to pay for any further claims that might not be covered by the first amount, a total of $12,605,625. Some 300 families had to be moved from the future reservoir site. This Act was accepted by the Indians on March 4, 1950, a majority voting in favor (525 out of 991 adults voted to accept the

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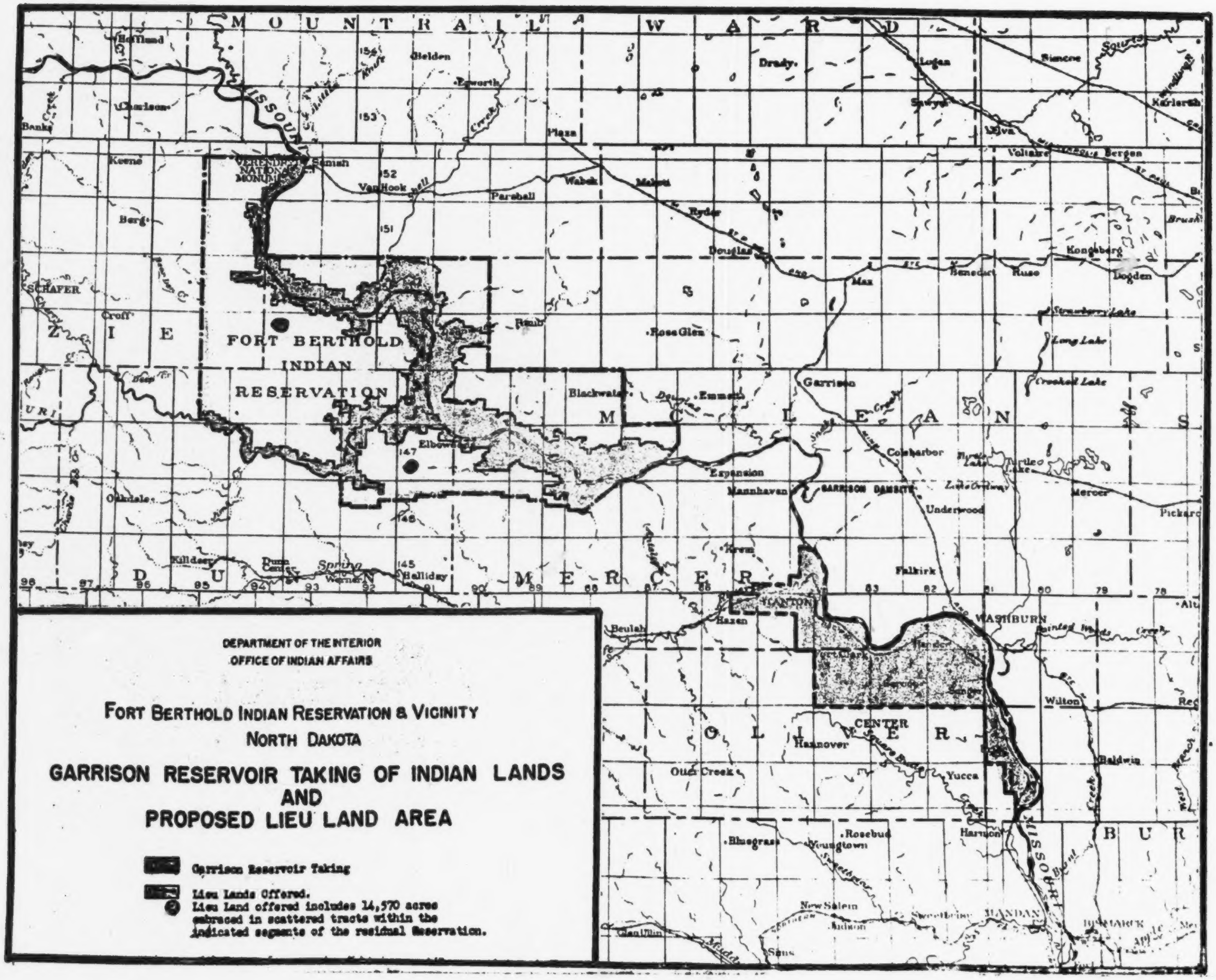
[1] Ben Reifel. Relocation on the Fort Berthold Reservation, (unpublished dissertation). Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University, 1952, pp. 12-13.

[2] William Zimmerman, Commissioner. Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1948, p. 392.


MOUNTRAIL
WARD
McLEAN
MERCER
DUNN
OLIVER
BURLEIGH
MORTON
MCKENZIE
MISSOURI
FORT BERTHOLD INDIAN RESERVATION
VERENDRYE NATIONAL MONUMENT
Sanish
Van Hook
Parshall
Plaza
Wabek
Makoti
Ryder
Douglas
Max
Benedict
Ruso
Kongsberg
Dogden
Rose Glen
Blackwater
Emmet
Garrison
Coleharbor
Underwood
Mercer
Falkirk
Expansion
Mannhaven
GARRISON DAMSITE
Elbowoods
Halliday
Dunn Center
Werner
Killdeer
Oakdale
Keene
Berg
Croff
SCHAFER
Charlson
Belden
Epworth
Drady
Logan
Sawyer
Velva
Voltaire
Bergen
Simcoe
Karlsruhe
Stanton
Hazen
Beulah
Washburn
Wilton
Baldwin
Center
Hannover
Otter Creek
Yucca
Hensler
Sanger
Price
Fort Clark
Harmon
Rosebud
Youngtown
Bluegrass
New Salem
Judson
Sweetbriar
Mandan
Bismarck
Glen Ullin
Strawberry Lake
Long Lake
Crooked Lake
Turtle Lake
Lake Ordway
Brush Lake
Painted Woods Creek
Spring Creek
Knife River
Square Butte Creek
Sweetbriar Creek
Heart River
Apple Creek
Burnt Creek
154
153
152
151
147
146
145
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DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR
OFFICE OF INDIAN AFFAIRS

FORT BERTHOLD INDIAN RESERVATION & VICINITY
NORTH DAKOTA

GARRISON RESERVOIR TAKING OF INDIAN LANDS
AND
PROPOSED LIEU LAND AREA

- ▇ Garrison Reservoir Taking
- ▨ Lieu Lands Offered.
- ● Lieu Land offered includes 14,570 acres embraced in scattered tracts within the indicated segments of the residual Reservation.

provisions of the Act).[1] Of the original 643,368 acres, the Fort Berthold Indians had 426,413 acres left. In their past history, they had used their capital assets for current expenses rather than trying to live on their earnings and this pattern was not changed.

Reifel, the Superintendent, listed four major problems faced by the Indians during that period.

1. The population had been increasing so rapidly (3½% annually for the past 40 years) that ways and means had to be found for establishing some of the families off the reservation in order to maintain a reasonable balance between population and land resources.

2. A right combination of farm site locations and the facilities needed to service the people living on the farms had to be established. The settlement patterns needed to provide a maximum of public services at a minimum cost.

3. Habilitation through the process of acculturation needed to be speeded up whereby habits of work were developed and sufficient capital accumulated to make maximum use of the reservation resources while holding the need for welfare assistance at a level which did not exceed that of the general public.

4. All of the agencies concerned with relocation needed to be coordinated throughout the whole system in order to efficiently use their resources.[2]

SOCIAL PROBLEMS

As a way of explaining these problems, let us consider Lenski's sociological system. Lenski, a social scientist divides these systems into four components: 1) language, which is defined as "a system of symbols capable of transmitting and storing information;"[3] 2) technology, which "refers to the information, techniques, and tools by means of which men utilize the material resources of their environment to satisfy their varied needs and desires;"[1] 3) social organization, which is a general term referring to "any structured system of relationships among people;"[2] and 4) ideology, which refers to "a society's basic belief systems and their applications to daily life."[3]

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[1] Dillon S. Meyer, Commissioner. Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1950, p. 353.

[2] Ben Reifel, op. cit., p. 71

[3] Gehard Lenski. Human Societies. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Dompany, 1970, pp. 34-35.

Man tends to be very conservative and attempts to preserve traditional patterns in the areas of social organizations and ideology. Technology is the least sacred of the four. A reason for this is that man usually has less emotional investment and tends to regard it pragmatically. The result is that technology usually has more possibilities for the formation of new forms and often leads the way for change in addition to possessing the possibility of undermining the social and ideological basis for the old patterns. "A society's solutions to its technological problems tend to function as a set of prior conditions that limit the range of possible solutions to its organizational and ideological problems."[4] Applying this hypothesis, it might be said that the "taking" process would cause a change in technology and this in turn would affect the social organization and ideology of the Fort Berthold Indians, since the latter two are more resistant to change and need to have the influence of the former before social forms can be reorganized and ideologies placed on a different basis. The loss of the river bottoms meant a loss of the old securities which these locations had afforded for hundreds of years. It meant also the development of new technologies which, in turn, placed additional pressure on the developed institutions for change in their areas of influence. Lenski adds:

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[1] Ibid., p. 37.

[2] Ibid., p. 38.

[3] Ibid., p. 44.

[4] Ibid., p. 103.

> To understand the changing relationship between technology and ideology, it is important to keep in mind that the greater cultural resources of the more advanced societies mean greater economic resources. Thus, these societies can afford alternatives that less advanced societies cannot.
>
> Ideological factors are able to play a greater role in the more advanced society than in the more primitive.
>
> Evolution often involves not only change in the phenomena in question (e.g., organisms or societies), but CHANGE IN THE OPERATION OF THE EVOLUTIONARY PROCESS ITSELF.[1]

There is also a two-way relationship between social organizations and technology. "Though the flow of influence from technology to social organization may be more important in the long run, the feedback from social organization to technology can also be tremendously important in the short run in one or more societies."[2]

The situation at Fort Berthold can be explained from this model. The Three Tribes were gradually adopting a new technology, but the social organization was impeding its progression with a maximum of resistance. This process was aided by the isolation and protection afforded by the Missouri River Valley. As long as the population did not outrun the carrying capacity of the land and other assets such as government aid, the social organization could resist extreme changes quite successfully; and this they did, before the taking. But the stage was being set for rapid change. The breaking up of the living arrangements meant a permanent rupture in the established social system. By sending their children away to boarding schools and re-indoctrinating them into their culture on their return, the old ideologies could exist with a minimum of alteration. This meant a minimum of change in the social organization. The majority of the individual tribal members still received their satisfactions from the traditional cultural forms. Progress would have to be founded in goals which differed from the traditional. Impetus for a change in ideology was provided by such technical developments as the telephone, electricity, modern homes, automobiles, radio, television, and good roads, aided by the development of a school system which aimed to teach both the student and his parent at the same time--the day school system.

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[1] _Ibid._, pp. 116-117.

[2] _Ibid._, pp. 115-116.

Lenski lists four basic facts of life which require explanation and which, together, form a unified social system; they are the facts of sociocultural continuity, sociocultural innovation, sociocultural extinction, and sociocultural evolution.[1]

Sociocultural continuity is achieved mainly by the process of socialization whereby individuals are molded to take the standards and beliefs of their society as their own, and govern their behavior accordingly. Socialization will promote continuity and is a method of social control. The original goal of the school system was to break this continuity by implanting values from a competing culture. This accounted for the pressure to get the Indian children off the reservation and into boarding schools which were open twelve months a year. When the Indian student returned to the reservation, social pressure from the tribal members forced him to comply with their traditional forms, thus preventing a complete rupture in the existing social system. The evidence presented here suggests that this method is not adequate, in and of itself, for rapid change in a social system; but that it might have a long range effect toward gradual change.

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[1] Ibid., pp. 63-70.

Sociocultural innovation refers to the use of new forms by invention, discovery, alteration, and diffusion, and is closely related to socialization. In the Indian's primitive state, invention, discovery, and alteration had little effect, but because of the process of diffusion, by which information is transferred from one society to another, great pressure was brought to bear on the Indians' institutions. The majority group tends to dictate to the weaker as was seen in the attempt to make the Indians conform to the white culture's social forms without respecting the Indian's ancient traditions.

Sociocultural extinction is seen as a major influence in the process of selection and it is often a blind, spontaneous process, which may be supplemented by rational, conscious selection. The use of power in all societies is a major factor of change and is the reason for the problems facing the Fort Berthold Indians at this time. The political factors are, therefore, at least as important as the environmental factors. Without the power behind the European migration into this territory, the Fort Berthold Indians would never have had their present problems.

Sociocultural evolution refers to the overall patterns of development. Man has traditionally tended to grow toward diversification. This is often called progress or technological advance. The Fort Berthold Indians had progressed from a hunting and gathering society to an early horticulture or hoe society by the time of the first contact with the white man. The issue was not whether the culture should change, but at what speed and in what way.

As we have seen, with the passage of the Allotment Act of February 8, 1887, there had been a gradual erosion of self government on the tribal level and an increase in the power of the Federal agencies which served them. It wasn't until Congress passed the Indian Reorganization Act of June 18, 1934, that tribal control began to be encouraged, but by this time the social forms which made the Federal Government the central power among the Indians were so deeply entrenched that tribal council control never became an important factor up to the time of the "taking." The natural leaders who represented the culture were often responsible for fixating the cultural forms and actually hindered agricultural innovations. It must also be remembered that the Fort Berthold cultural forms included the idea of subsistence living which provided no natural motivation for increased individual possessions. There existed on the reservation, therefore, every degree of acculturation from horticultural gardening to modern farming enterprises at the time of the "taking," a condition which still exists.

An attribute of social classes is that there is a lack of communication between the members of the different social strata. With the relocation problems accompanying the formation of the reservoir, the old social forms were broken up and new ones began to appear (communication channels had to be opened again).

If the families on the Fort Berthold Reservation were to become self supporting, they would have to obtain sufficient economic knowledge to make informed decisions. Their existing social forms did not include training in this area.

An additional problem requiring solution is that of consolidating the land interests into blocks of sufficient size to enable the operator to make optimum use of the land. The problem of fractional ownership, with its roots in the Dawes Act, and caused by heirship, created one of the thorniest land problems the Indians were forced to face.

CONDITIONS AT TIME OF TAKING

In 1946, within the boundaries of the reservation, the following land-ownership status existed:

Individual Indian trust allotments	550,096 acres
Held by Indians in fee	3,105 acres
Tribal land	27,729 acres
Held by non-Indians in fee	60,578 acres
Government owned reserves	1,860 acres
TOTAL	643,368 acres [1]

The agency census as of January 1, 1946, showed an enrollment of 2,034 Indians of whom 95 percent were in actual residence on the reservation. The tribal subdivision was as follows:

Arikara	765
Gros Ventres	897
Mandan	375
TOTAL	2,034 [2]

Superintendent Beitzel concluded in March, 1944, that approximately 50 percent of the total population were full bloods but that there was a definite trend toward a mixed blood population.[3]

The reservation economy was based on the production of range beef cattle which was quartered mostly along the Missouri River on about 241,000 acres of the reservation land. The range land to the west was largely under lease to white cattlemen and the area to the east and north was leased by white farmers. That portion of the land along the river was adequate for the 8,758 beef cattle owned by the Indians in 1945 and provided shelter for the livestock in both winter and summer. Sale of beef cattle provided a major portion of the earned income.[1]

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[1] Allen G. Harper, Assistant District Director. Report and Recommendations to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs on the Offer of Lieu Lands to the Indians of the Fort Berthold Reservation, North Dakota by The Honorable The Secretary of War, prepared under the direction of District Office No. 2, U. S. Indian Service, Billings, Montana, December 10, 1946, p. 13.

[2] Ibid., p. 17.

[3] Ibid., p. 87.

The other principle source of income was the payments received for the use of their surplus farming and grazing lands by non-Indians. The percentage of earned income was about equal to that of the unearned income. The average net family income from 1942 to 1945 varied from $1,000 to $1,500 and was adequate for their subsistence standard of living.[2]

The school enrollments, together with the number of teachers employed in the schools, were as follows: Elbowoods day-boarding school, enrollment 200, teachers 10; Nishu day school, enrollment 90, teachers 3; Shell Creek and Independence 50 to 60 enrollees and 2 teachers; Beaver Creek Red Butte, Charging Eagle and Lucky Mound, 15 to 35 enrollees and 1 teacher.[3] After completing day school, the children could enroll in the Elbowoods Boarding High School.

Relief and Social Services were administered under a federal contract with the North Dakota State Department of Public Health. "In October, 1946, there were 79 recipients of cash relief grants living on the reservation benefiting a total of 234 persons."[1] The Federal allotment for the fiscal year 1946 amounted to $6,328.69.

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[1] Ibid., p. 87.

[2] Ibid., pp. 20-22.

[3] Ibid., p. 23.

Of the 347 family groups residing on the reservation, 305 lived within the area to be flooded. The filling of the Garrison Reservoir forced the relocation of 85 percent of the resident families.[2] The secondary effect of the Garrison Reservoir "taking" was the breaking up of the residual reservation lands into 5 separate tracts, rendering communication difficult, costly, and time consuming.[3] This together with the loss of the social organizations and the shattering of the Indian cattle economy, meant that the Indians would have to be rehabilitated and re-established--a long, painful process.

Michael Shane, Superintendent in 1954-1955, made some comments on the effect of the "taking" on the members of the Three Tribes. He pointed out that the reservation was divided into five segments, inaccessable from each other except by long mileages around reservoir water. The government purchased land from the individual owners but only that portion lying within the Reservoir area, effectively tying the Indians to their remaining land holdings; no new lands were added to the reservation area thus forcing the same number of Indians to relocate in a more restricted area, or as Shane put it, "one half of the resources is lost but most of the population remains;" eighty percent of the road system was lost, forcing relocation into areas that were virtually roadless, and requiring the building of a 230 mile system of highways; and a relocation problems of such proportions that Shane made the following comments:

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[1] Ibid., pp. 23-24.

[2] Ibid., pp. 26-27.

[3] Ibid., p. 27.

> Prior to the Garrison Reservoir 90% of the population of the reservation lived within the Missouri valley. Consequently, relocation required that 90% of the total population were moved 'lock, stock, and barrel' from their old homes to new homes on the highlands. They were uprooted, shuffled and mixed. Every semblance of organization was destroyed and must be reorganized with an entirely different group of members. Relocation changes the family marketing and recreational habits.[1]

One economic effect of the loss of the bottomlands was that the Indians were forced to change from a partial and traditional subsistence economy based on their natural resources to an almost complete cash economy, entailing far greater daily work and expense. A second overall effect was to force the Indians to reorganize the ownership and use of their landholdings in the five residual segments.[2]

William Zimmerman, Jr., Acting Commissioner of Indian Affairs, presented the salient facts of the withdrawal of land through the middle of the reservation in his testimony before the Senate Committee of the Interior on February 3, 1949. It was stipulated:

> 1) That the reservation will be divided physically into five segments, which imposes severe hardships and disorganization upon individuals and families and upon the economic, social and administrative organization of the Fort Berthold Indians.
>
> 2) That the loss of 155,000 acres of their best land creates a severe economic loss in natural resources which cannot be replaced and which imposes limitations on economic development.
>
> 3) That the withdrawal of lands and dividing of the reservation create severance or an additional loss by reducing the value of the

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[1] Ralph M. Shane. Short History of Fort Berthold. New Town, N.Dak.: Fort Berthold Indian Agency, R. B. McKee, Superintendent, 1956, pp. 21-22.

[2] William Zimmerman, Jr. Acting Commissioner of Indian Affairs. Testimony Before the Senate Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, Missouri River Basin Information study number 87. February 3, 1949, pp. 4-5.

residual reservation.

4) That at least 289 of the 357 households of the reservation will have to remove, imposing not only the economic and social reestablishment of individual families, but their reorganization in economic enterprises, social groupings and communities.

5) That the religious life and organization will suffer impairment and that over 1600 graves in eighteen cemetaries, together with the shrines and monuments of the Tribe, will require complete removal.

6) That the political and economic organizations which have instigated much recent social and economic development toward tribal and individual self-sufficiency, will be greatly impaired and curtailed in effectiveness.

7) That the facilities of the Federal administration will be entirely wiped out, requiring replacement and reorganization.

8) That the pre-eminent effect will be that the withdrawal of land from the reservation imposes losses that affect the Indians as an economic, social, political, administrative, and religious group, which are over and above the losses that they will suffer as individuals or by families. These losses, such as the disruption of present land ownership and use pattern, the redistribution and consolidation of lands in order that the people can become rehabilitated economically enforced by such disruption, and the breaking up of the communities or villages with their established community life, cannot be compensated for merely by payments on an individual or tribal basis for material wealth that is being lost. The taking of 155,000 acres of land has created the taking of many other and more valuable things from the Indians. It is to replace these, as far as possible, in order that life may be reorganized and continued that additional compensation must be requested of the Congress.[1]

A survey of the remaining acreage of lands under Indian administration in 1949, and classified by its major use showed:

Cropland		55,876
Grazing		508,002
Timber		22,700
	TOTAL	586,578[2]

Out of a total reservation area of 644,008 acres, the remaining total under Indian administration was 586,578 acres, subdivided as follows:

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[1] Ibid., pp. 7-8.

[2] Walter U. Fuhriman, Director. Damage to Indians of Five Reservations from Three Missouri River Reservoirs in North Dakota and South Dakota. Billings: Missouri River Basin Investigations Project, Report 138, April, 1954, p. 31.

Tribal Lands	28,549
Allotted Lands	556,169
Land Owned by U. S.	1,860
TOTAL	586,578[1]

Out of the 584,718 acres of trust lands remaining on the reservation, the "taking" area amounted to 152,360 or 26%. Leaving a net area of Indian owned land of 432,358.[2]

Acreage of Indian land in "taking" area was used as follows:

Cropland	20,709
Meadow and open pasture	43,009
Sheltered pasture	37,183
Grazing land	44,862
Other	6,597
TOTAL	152,360[3]

Approximately 13 percent of the reservation families were dependent on various types of welfare assistance. These were largely fatherless homes or those whose male head was physically disabled or unemployable because of age.[4]

DISBURSEMENT OF FUNDS

After heated debates on June 4, 1952, the development as proposed by the Government program was rejected by a vote of 476-92. This action opened the door for the question of termination (See ch. II, pp. 77-81) to become a part of the settlement.[5] The Federal Government had been encouraging a policy of termination since 1944, and by 1950, the termination policy was in full swing. In 1952, the Bureau of Indian

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[1] Ibid., p. 29.

[2] Ibid., p. 35.

[3] Ibid., p. 37.

[4] Ibid., p. 49.

[5] Ibid., p. 300.

Affairs had closed all Federal schools in Idaho, Michigan, Washington, and Wisconsin[1] and many of the legislators wanted to terminate, once and for all, all the Federal Government's responsibility for Indians, in general, and the Fort Berthold Indians, in particular.

Besides the appropriation of $5,105,625 as compensation for the immediate loss of approximately 155,000 acres of land, the Eighty-first Congress appropriated an additional sum of $7,500,000 (PL 437) for other causes. This latter sum could not be disbursed until the Government had approved a tribal proposed plan. Commissioner Meyer announced that the tribal business council of the Fort Berthold Indians had created a revolving fund of $2,500,000 for the rehabilitation of tribal members; authorized a per capita payment of $1,000 to each tribal member; and established a reserve fund which was to remain in their account in the United States Treasury available upon their request. Any tribal member wishing to be dropped from the rolls could get his full share of the $7,500,000 immediately under certain conditions.[2] This action was preceeded by considerable litigation between different factions on the reservation whereby one group favored setting up tribal funds for developmental purposes and the others opposed all tribal programs.[3]

The per capita payment together with a revolving fund for tribal use was a compromise between the factions, and the disbursement of the per capita moneys meant that by the middle of February, 1951, over six million dollars had been received since June, 1950 and only about five million was left.[1]

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[1] Ralph Yarborough, Chairman, Committee on Labor and Public Welfare. Indian Education: A National Tragedy--A National Challenge. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1969, p. 14. Dillon S. Meyer, Commissioner. op. cit., 1952, pp. 389-391.

[2] Dillon S. Meyer, Commissioner. Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1951, p. 378.

[3] Roy W. Meyer. "Fort Berthold and the Garrison Dam." in North Dakota History, XXXV, No. 3-4, Summer-Fall, 1968, p. 296.

The disbursement was made possible partly because of the policy on the national level. One of the major developments in 1951 was the decentralization of the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) from the Washington level to the area offices and field jurisdictions. In addition, the regulations governing the disbursing of money held by the Bureau's dispersing agents were liberalized, a policy which was consistent with their basic goal of withdrawing supervision over Indian affairs and transferring the responsibility for decisions affecting their lives to the Indians themselves. The great majority of the approximately 80,000 individual money accounts were freed of all bureau supervision.[2]

On October 17, 1952, the Tribal council passed a resolution requesting a $200 per capita payment out of the remaining moneys and this was authorized by the Secretary of the Interior six months later. A $500 per capita payment was authorized and distributed by August, 1953.[3]

A bill was passed and signed by the President on June 4, 1956, to distribute the final sum of $4,429,659. Late in the summer of 1957 the payments were being made, the final roll containing 3,094 names and each individual's share amounting to $1,343.41, subject to reasonable plans for spending, payments being made to adults only.[1] The factionalism, described by Meyer, had prevented the Fort Berthold people from investing their money in such a way as to provide employment. These people were to continue a pattern established almost from the beginning of their first contacts with the white man--a pattern which allowed them to live on their capital. That is the meaning of the trades of land for security--security from attacks of other Indians, security in the form of food, clothing, and shelter, security in the form of freedom of disease, security in the form of preservation of their cherished social forms which were functional for their way of life, a freedom which has been purchased at a high economic cost.

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[1] Ibid., p. 298.

[2] Dillon S. Meyer, Commissioner. Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1951, pp. 351-353.

[3] Meyer, op. cit., p. 303.

John C. Dibbern made a later survey on the manner in which the moneys were spent. Sixty eight percent of the 1953 distribution ($200) and of the 1955 distribution ($500) of their per capita payments went for non-durable goods and services. Twelve percent went for payment of old debts, and twenty percent went for the more substantial purposes which would have been served anyway if the tribe had received the money instead of the individual. A breakdown on all of the per capita payments combined showed that thirty-eight percent went for non-durable items, twelve percent for debts, and fifty percent for other purposes.[2]

The problem of termination remained a threat until 1959 when the Secretary of the Interior, Fred Seaton made the following public statement:

> It would be incredible, even criminal, to send any Indian tribe out into the mainstream of American life until and unless the educational lead of the tribe was one which was equal to

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[1] Ibid., p. 307.

[2] Ibid.

the responsibilities which it was shouldering.[1]

This marked a change in attitude on the part of Federal officials toward a people oriented approach to the Indian situation.

POST RELOCATION PROBLEMS - THE 1950's

A revision of the Tribal Council, in the form of an amendment to the Tribal Constitution, approved by the area office August 18, 1954, allowed three representatives each from the eastern and western segments, two from the southern, and one each from the northern and northeastern.[2]

Meyers summarized the relocation project which had been completed by the end of 1954:

> Although the water had risen only to the 1739 foot level and then had receded, nearly everything of value had been removed from the area to be flooded, except for a few bridges which were then being dismantled. Some four million board feet of cottonwood lumber had been salvaged by the Tribes, operating under the tribal sawmill enterprise and let contracts, before the deadline of October 15, 1953. A new road system had been constructed; five new school buildings had been erected and, though not quite finished, were in full use by the fall of 1954; the agency was housed in its new quarters at New Town; the Four Bears bridge had been removed from its original site and installed as part of the new bridge west of New Town. Most important, a majority of the Fort Berthold people had been relocated, most of them on the residual reservation, the rest off the reservation.
>
> The massive changeover in the lives of these people was not accomplished without generating antagonisms or arousing latent hostility within the population, however. Factionalism among the Fort Berthold people, evident before the Garrison project was ever broached, became especially pronounced during the period of transition, when a clash over the distribution of the

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[1] Glen L. Emmons, Commissioner. Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1959, p. 231.

[2] Meyer, op. cit., p. 293.

> additional funds voted by Congress in 1949 threatened to shatter the tribal organization and the social unity that had been developed by the Three Tribes during their long period of association on the Upper Missouri.[1]

The Fort Berthold Indian hospital which was located at Elbowoods was closed on August 18, 1951 and arrangements were made with nine community or sectarian hospitals to provide hospital facilities for the people on the reservation.[2]

The program to assist Indians who were willing to leave the reservation for permanent employment was implemented in January, 1952, by giving individuals financial aid for resettlement.[3] Whatever the shortcomings of the relocation problem on a national level, given the situation at Fort Berthold, there was an urgent need for part of the population to leave the reservation if these people were to continue to maintain the standard of living they had enjoyed before the Garrison Dam crisis.[4]

Special arrangements were made with the Farm and Home Administration and the Veterans Administration in order that the benefits of their lending programs might be extended to Indians on the same basis as other citizens. Trust or restricted land was the principal asset which a majority of the Indians had to offer as security for loans, making it advisable to revise the regulations. This revision was authorized on September 22, 1951, permitting the mortgaging of such lands. The Area Directors of the Bureau could approve mortgages for those qualified to make loans. The lending agencies included any bureau or agency operating under authority of Congress, a national or state bank, or any building and loan association operating under the authority of any state. This revision removed one of the obstacles preventing Indians from securing credit from sources outside of the lending program of the BIA without losing the benefits of retaining land in a trust or restricted status.[1]

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[1] _Ibid_., pp. 293-294.

[2] Meyer, _op_. _cit_., 1952, p. 395.

[3] _Ibid_., p. 403.

[4] Meyer, _op_. _cit_., p. 287.

Two decisions were handed down in February, 1953, which effected the rights of Indians to receive assistance from their respective state or county agencies on the same basis as other state residents. As a result, Indians were eligible to receive public assistance in every state on the same basis as other citizens.[2] In addition, legislation providing for the transfer of the entire Indian health program to the United States Public Health Service was approved by the passage of Public Law 568 of the 83rd Congress on August 5, 1954.[3]

An adult vocational training program which was authorized by Public Law 959 was approved August 3, 1956.[4] This was part of the Federal program to assist the Indians in their efforts to relocate Indians on off-reservation jobs and to upgrade their economic condition on the reservation. The program was important when one considers that in 1948, more than one third of the reservation families depended upon wage work for the largest share of their income with many others earning part of their cash income from wages. The largest percentage of the wage earners were under 40 years of age and could find work mainly during the planting and harvesting seasons.[1] Of the 289 families residing in the "taking" area, 150 were listed as agricultural families, 110 were employed workers families,[2] and 81 families were already residing in the residual area.[3] The resources of the reservation in the residual area (the carrying capacity) of the land were sufficient to support only 174 family units on the basis of a desirable standard of living.[4] Only 93 families could be relocated on the land unless a substandard life style were to be a goal with which they could live. This is, in fact, what happened since 350 families were required to move because of closure of the Garrison Dam,[5] and most of these were relocated somewhere in the residual area.

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[1] Ibid., pp. 414-415.

[2] W. Barton Greenwood, Acting Commissioner. Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1953, p. 39.

[3] Glen L. Emmons, Commissioner. Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1955, pp. 230-233.

[4] Glen L. Emmons, Commissioner. Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs. Washington: Governement Printing Office, 1957, p. 237.

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[1] Social and Economic Report of Fort Berthold Reservation, Supplement No. 1," *Missouri River Basin Investigations Staff Report No. 94*. Billings, Montana: Department of the Interior, Aug. 31, 1949, p. 15.

[2] Walter U. Fuhriman, Director, Missouri River Basin Investigations Project. *Comparison of Appraised Values of Indian Properties and of Damage to Indians of Five Reservations from Three Missouri River Reservoirs in North Dakota and South Dakota*. Billings, Montana: Department of the Interior, April 1954, Report 138, p. 49.

[3] *Ibid*., p. 46.

[4] R. W. Quinn, Superintendent, *Report--Relocation, Planning and Activities*, 1951, MRBI R Report 41, p. 33.

[5] Glenn L. Emmons, Commissioner. *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs*. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1954, p. 233.

R. W. Quinn, Superintendent in 1951, saw the basic principles and policies of the Indian Service during the relocation program as an opportunity:

> . . . to assert and activate a cultural change of a whole group of people from an old, well established system, to a broader American way of living and conduct."
>
> The Fort Berthold people have acquired a different way of social and economic behavior over a period of generations. Those differences are based on sound reasons and the people are loyal to those customs, particularly among the older members. They do not always see "realism" in the new values and standards we propose. The group or tribes exercise strong pressures for compliance and loyalty to their way of living and frequently much hostility is directed at any change.[1]

As an example, Mr. Quinn cited the "giveaway" which served a purpose in the tribal culture and for which, in the American society, we substitute welfare organizations, church groups, and others to meet these needs. As a result, the sponsors of a program of acculturation have the job of interpreting the broad set of American values in an acceptable and usable form to the Indians who have contrasting values in widely varying degrees.[2]

The educational program was based on the saying that "man is a reasoning animal but not a reasonable one." This meant that the educators had to gain a "real understanding" of the student, his environment, and the effects of his environment in order for the educational effort to achieve real success. The schools were the common setting or the hub around which the social activities of the community were centered. They had to acquire and use new teaching methods, changed curricula, and improved teacher attitudes.[1]

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[1] R. W. Quinn, Superintendent. Fort Berthold Indian Agency Report: Relocation Planning and Activities in 1951. A report by the Superintendent and Agency Staff, (unpublished) December 31, 1951, p. 1.

[2] Ibid., p. 2.

Out of 639 families, there were 501 pre-school children, 669 grade school children, and 192 high school students, or a total of 1362 children. The reservation enrolled children were 346 pre-school, 503 grade school, and 138 high school students or a total of 987. The balance (475 children) were in public schools, off reservation government or private schools, or were not in attendance at all.[2]

Wilbur Peacock, placement officer, reported that as of December, 1951, there was a total reservation population of 1687, with 338 residing within a 100 mile radius and 447 over a 100 mile radius, making 32 percent of the Tribal members located off the reservation.[3]

About 300 households had been moved including houses, fences, and all types of improvement, including chattel. Water supplies had been developed, roads built, schools constructed, and social institutions reorganized in the face of the fact that the new reservation could support only about one half of its population.[4]

The Lucky Mound School and teacherage were moved to the northeastern segment and the Red Butte and Charging Eagle schools were moved and combined in the southern segment. New schools were built on the eastern and western segments.[5]

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[1] Ibid., pp. 7-12.

[2] Ibid., pp. 8-12.

[3] Ibid., pp. 18-20.

[4] Ibid., pp. 28-30.

[5] Meyer, op. cit., p. 281.

During the 1953-1954 school year, the high school students attended off-reservation Indian schools and public schools adjacent to the reservation.[1] By 1958, four year high schools were in session at both Mandaree and White Shield.[2]

The Fort Berthold agency began operating in New Town on August 15, 1953, but the Agency personnel did not move to their new quarters until late in August, 1954. Names were given the different segments taken from the names of the schools located in each area: the western part being called Mandaree; the southern, Twin Buttes; the eastern, White Shield; and the northeastern, Lucky Mound.[3]

The first school completed was at Twin Buttes, the southern segment, and was dedicated in late August, 1954. By September, 1955, White Shield had 9 grades in operation and Mandaree 10. Both schools enrolled Indian and white students and their districts extended beyond the borders of the reservation. Lucky Mound school burned in January, 1963, and was not replaced, so the children were sent to the public school at Parshall.[4]

The North Dakota Indian Affairs Commission was authorized by the 31st Legislative Assembly in response to the threat of termination by the Federal Government. Its goal was that the Federal Government should continue responsibility for the Indians until assimilation had occurred in the local social and economic community of residence. Both agreed on assimilation as the ultimate goal. An outgrowth of the Indian Affairs Commission was the formation of the Fort Berthold Inter-Agency Committee on October 19, 1951.[1]

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[1] Ibid., p. 288.

[2] Ibid., p. 314.

[3] Meyer, op. cit., pp. 311-314.

[4] Ibid.

Ten churches were re-established on the reservation, 4 Catholic, 5 Congregational, and one Episcopal (see map, p. 261). Their locations were as follows:

Catholic	St. Joseph's at Twin Buttes.
	St. Anthony's at Mandaree.
	St. Andrew's north of old Nishu.
	Holy Family not far from old Shell Creek.
Congregational	White Shield vicinity.
	Twin Buttes.
	Mandaree.
	Open country near old Shell Creek.
	Open country near old Independence.
Episcopal	St. Paul's south of White Shield.[2]

Congress enacted Public law 277, approved August 15, 1953, which removed the discriminatory prohibition against the sales of alcoholic beverages to Indians outside of Indian country and provided for legalizing the introduction of alcoholic beverages within Indian country by the tribes on a local option basis.[3] A North Dakota ban on liquor sales continued in effect until July 1, 1955. A Tribal Council vote to permit liquor on the reservation was passed on June 29, making liquor available on the eve of the State action.[4]

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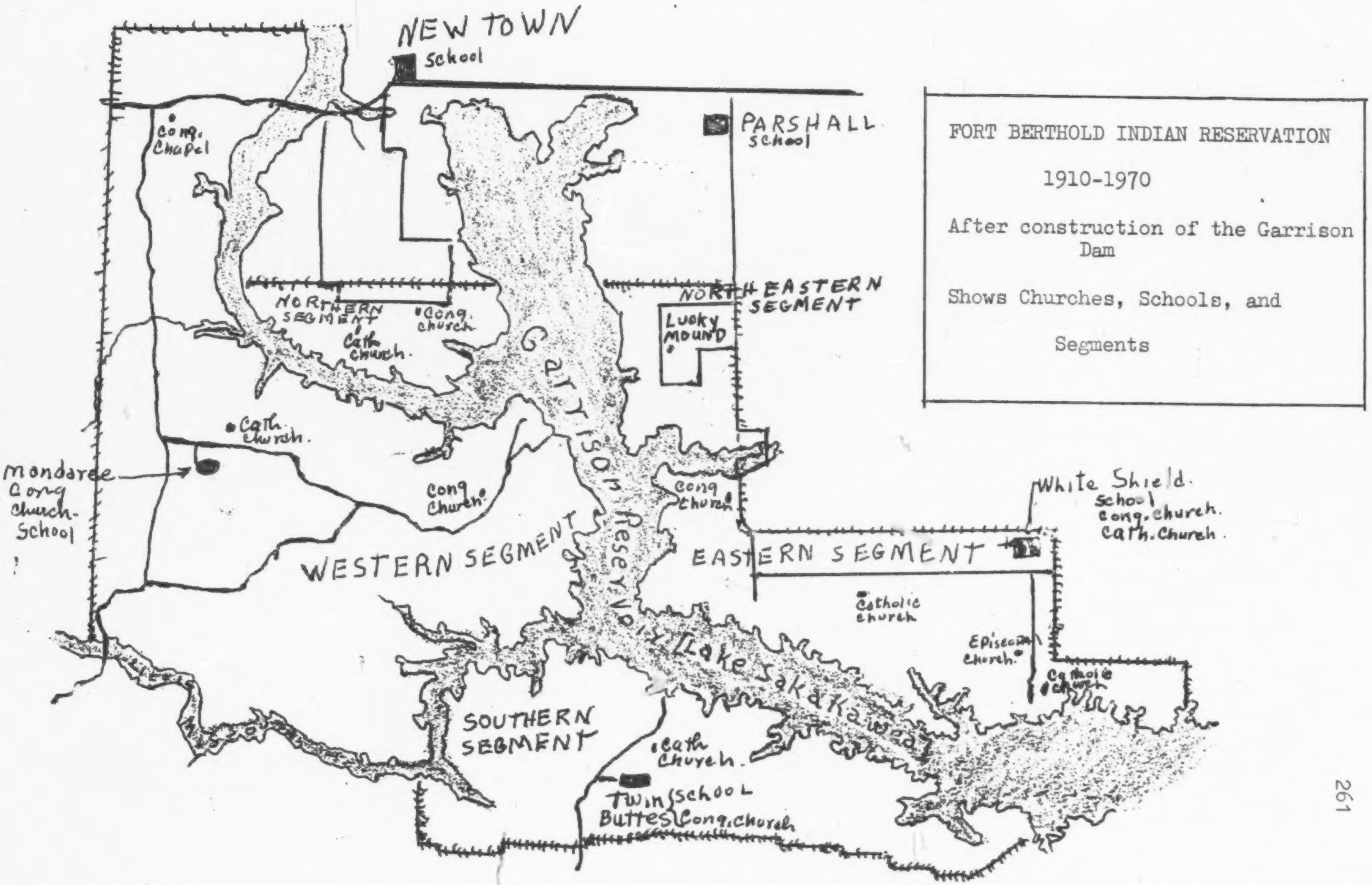
[1] *Ibid.*, p. 312.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 316.

[3] Glen L. Emmons, Commissioner. *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs*. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1954, p. 244.

[4] Meyer, *op. cit.*, p. 317.



FORT BERTHOLD INDIAN RESERVATION

1910-1970

After construction of the Garrison Dam

Shows Churches, Schools, and Segments

NEW TOWN
School
PARSHALL
School
Cong. Chapel
NORTHERN SEGMENT
Cong. church
Cath. church
NORTHEASTERN SEGMENT
Lucky MOUND
Garrison Reservoir/Lake Sakakawea
Cath. church
Mandaree Cong church-School
Cong Church
Cong Church
WESTERN SEGMENT
EASTERN SEGMENT
White Shield
School
Cong. church
Cath. Church
Catholic church
Episcopal Church
Catholic church
SOUTHERN SEGMENT
Cath Church
Twin Buttes
School
Cong. Church
Missouri

From the time of the final per capita payment in 1957, through the early 1960's, a gradual deterioration of the economic condition of the Fort Berthold people was developing. There were too many people on land which had too small a carrying capacity; too little technical knowledge on how to live in the new environment; too much resistence toward learning the needed social changes. The land holdings were too fractionated and the tribal government did not have enough money to put economical holdings together; industrial development was disappointing; and the people, in general, were suffering from the lack of the very programs which were scrapped when the congressional appropriations were used for per capita payments. Large numbers were landless and welfare loads were on the increase in spite of a relocation program which placed individual families in jobs off the reservation. A picture of the growth of the demand for welfare payments can be seen in the statistics whereby for the fiscal year 1958, there were only $6,008 welfare dollars paid out; in fiscal 1961, $35,530; and for 1962, $96,267, an increase of more than $90,000 in 4 years. After 1962, the State took over the welfare program and Federal public works programs became available.[1]

The problems of the Fort Berthold Indians could be met in various ways:

1) They could retain and utilize their remaining reservation resources, which by this time were mostly land.

2) They could obtain credit through loan programs.

3) They could attract industry to the reservation and surrounding area in order to give local employment for their surplus population.

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[1] Meyer, op. cit., p. 321.

4) They could relocate their surplus families in areas of greater opportunity.

To know the answers and to apply them to a particular situation are two different propositions. The lack of tribal funds for developmental purposes was a basic problem which influenced the first three options. The heirship situation which fractionated the individual holdings, and the social system itself, hindered all four solutions. The Fort Berthold people did make several attempts to attract industry to the reservation, but these efforts did not work out due to no fault of their own. They attempted to relocate many of the families, but there were too many attractions on the reservation, the population was growing at too rapid a rate, and the land ownership pattern tended to discourage migration.[1]

During the 1950's, the Indians had been able to obtain fee patents with a minimum of hindrance from the BIA. As a result, by 1960, the Indian owned land on the reservation had diminished to 426,413 acres, a loss of close to 9,000 acres. At the same time, sixty-seven percent of the reservation land was being used by non-Indians and only forty percent of the potential one hundred eighty four units were being used by Indians.[2]

A few of the people benefited greatly as individuals from the sale of oil leases and the drilling of a few oil wells on the reservation. But, by 1960, the oil boom was nearly over and only one quarter of the enrolled members had received any oil income. Oil income had no pronounced effect on the people living on the reservation.[1]

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[1] Meyer, op. cit., pp. 321-322.

[2] Meyer, op. cit., pp. 325-326.

THE DECADE OF THE 60's - HOPE

The report by a special task force appointed in February, 1961, recommended a shift in program emphasis from termination of Federal trust relationships toward greater development of human and natural resources on Indian reservations. They also recommended that eligibility for special Federal service be withdrawn from Indians with substantial incomes who were as competent as non-Indians to look after their own affairs. Emphasis was to be placed on the Federal programs such as the Social Security Act and the Area Redevelopment Act which treat Indians and non-Indians alike.[2]

The "Task Force on Indian Affairs" listed three prime objectives: 1) maximum Indian economic self-sufficiency, 2) full participation of Indians in American life, and 3) equal citizenship rights and responsibilities for Indians. To move toward accomplishment of these goals, they recommended less emphasis on the purely custodial functions of the Bureau, greater concentration of time, energy and funds on fostering fuller development of both the human and natural resources on Indian reservations.[3]

On May 1, 1961, Congress passed the Area Redevelopment Act (75 Stat. 47) under which the Secretary of Commerce delegated the Bureau of

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[1] Meyer, op. cit., pp. 325-326.

[2] Philleo Nash, Commissioner. Annual Report of the Secretary of the Interior. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1961, p. 277.

[3] Philleo Nash, Commissioner. Annual Report of the Secretary of the Interior. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1962, p. 7.

Indian Affairs broad responsibilities in carrying out those provisions of the law pertaining to Indian reservations and Indian tribes. Under this Act, reservations could be designated as "Reservation Redevelopment Areas" making them eligible for assistance. Major emphasis was placed on assisting Indian tribes as well as non-Indian groups in the designated "Reservation Redevelopment Areas" to formulate over-all economic development programs. Tribes could also be aided in outlining and carrying out specific projects and provide occupational training of unemployed and underemployed Indians where this would enhance their opportunity for employment.[1] By July 21, the Fort Berthold Reservation was declared a distressed area and on May 9, an Area Redevelopment Program was approved. Retraining schools in arts and crafts, farm training, and stenographic and clerical work were established as provided for by Sections 16 and 17 of the Act.[2]

The Manpower Development Training Act under the Department of Labor (P.L. 87-45) was passed March 15, 1962, and contained provisions for programs that could be used to develop Indian occupational skills. Funds for reservations were made available in 1963.[3] The Fort Berthold people used it for a retraining program, including a plan for construction carpentry, which initially enrolled twelve persons and which, on a later housing program, was a very important skill.[4]

Under the Accelerated Public Works Program (P.S. 87-658) passed on September 14, 1962, more than $12 million was allotted the Bureau of Indian Affairs in fiscal 1963 permitting the Bureau to act on urgently needed improvements to Indian reservations. These projects had four principal objectives: upgrading Indian owned timber stands, conserving of soil and water, improving reservation roads, and constructing community centers.[1]

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[1] Nash, *op*. *cit*., 1961, p. 286.

[2] Meyer, *op*. *cit*., pp. 330-331.

[3] Nash, *op*. *cit*., 1962, p. 41.

[4] Meyer, *op*. *cit*., p. 331.

The Fort Berthold people received an appropriation of $50,000 for timber stand improvement, forest access and fire protection roads, and forest visitor use facilities. Approximately 56 people were given temporary employment.[2]

In addition, the new $805,000 high school plant at White Shield and the $495,000 addition at Mandaree began construction in 1963. A marina was built at the Four Bears Park, a new $600,000 school was built at Parshall, and Boeing began the construction of Minute Man Missile sites in the vicinity of the reservation. All of these gave temporary employment in late 1963 and 1964.[3]

During January, 1964, President Johnson announced an earmarking by the Public Housing Administration of 3,200 housing units in Indian reservations in 17 states. About one-half of these were low-rent units similar to those in many American communities in the past, and the other half were to be built under a recently developed mutual-help program of home ownership, a cooperative plan developed by the Bureau and the Public Health Service. Indian participants contributed their labor and agreed to work together on their homes. The Public Health Service furnished materials and essential skilled labor.[1]

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[1] Philleo Nash, Commissioner. *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs*. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1963, pp. 26-27.

[2] Meyer, *op. cit.*, p. 331.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 332.

The Fort Berthold Tribal Council formed a Public Housing Authority in February, 1963, and secured the approval of a 60 unit housing project, 30 under each program, in September of the same year. Bids were let in September, 1966, and the contract signed in November. The self-help program got going in April, 1967, putting low cost housing at White Shield, New Town, Parshall, and Mandaree. Population centers began to spring up around these school sites recreating the old community life even though there were no employment opportunities.

EDUCATION IN THE 1960's

In 1963, Philleo Nash, Commissioner of Indian Affairs made the statement that the Bureau's land program recognized that agriculture could no longer be considered an occupation for the unskilled, but one requiring efficient production, management, and marketing ability. Since 1961, therefore, education in land management principles and techniques has been an essential part of the Bureau's program.[2] The Bureau of Indian Affairs was gradually recognizing that education should be defined in its broad sense--socialization--fitting the needs of the dominant culture of which the minority is a part.

An indication of the role of formal education in Indian affairs can be seen by Philleo Nash's observation in 1963 that when school construction funds were added to those for operation and maintenance of the Bureau of Indian Affair's far-flung school system, nearly 60 percent of the toal appropriations in any fiscal year have been for purposes directly related to education.[1] The next year he stated that every program in the Bureau was to some degree oriented around education as a means to economic and social improvement. A long range objective of the Indian education program was the development of a public school opportunity for all Indian children.[2] In 1965, he added that about 18 percent of the students in Bureau schools were those who were unable to succeed in public schools and required the special help the Bureau offers.[3]

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[1] Philleo Nash, Commissioner. Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1964, pp. 4-6.

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 25, 27.

In 1966, Bennett, the new Commissioner, noted that sixty-one tribes had passed compulsory education regulations that conformed with those of the states where they lived. The Bureau encouraged the establishment of locally controlled public schools for Indian children and urged Indians to become active in all phases of community life.[4]

In 1967, the growth of Indian leaders in decision making ability was noted as the most significant of Indian achievements. But interest in education led to the conclusion that a clash between cultures, with resulting learning impairment and dropout problems, had long been a serious hindrance to Indian education progress. Dr. John Bryde, under a Bureau of Indian Affairs contract, was developing a course of study to help Indian students to understand the strengths and origins of their Indian culture. Dr. Bryde felt that a lack of personal identification, which he identified as a feeling of being trapped between two cultures and belonging to neither, was a major factor in Indian educational failures.[1] This concept is often termed by sociologists as the "marginal man." The term originated with the work of R. E. Park who emphasized the disorganizing effects of marginality. "The marginal man ... is one whom fate has condemned to live in two societies and in two, not merely different, but antagonistic, cultures."[2] Schermerhorn defines the extent or range of this marginality as depending on:

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[1] Nash, op. cit., 1963, p. 16.

[2] Nash, op. cit., 1964, p. 4.

[3] Philleo Nash, Commissioner, Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1965, p. 3.

[4] Ibid., p. 9.

> (a) how much difference exists between the cultural norms of the different groups; (b) the prevalent social definition of this actual difference; (c) the differential treatment which results from (b); (d) the differential participation in two or more spheres as affected by (c); (e) the differential awareness of (c) and (d); f) the definition of factors (a) to (d) by the MARGINAL MAN in terms of unique personality elements, and the responses arising therefrom, his aspirations and goal-directed activities.[3]

Dr. Bryde described the situation among the Sioux in South Dakota as follows:

> Immersed in the alien, dominant White-American culture which forces, for the most part, new and conflicting patterns of belief upon them, the Sioux, trying to utilize behavior normal to their heritage, meet constant frustration. Deleterious changes in behavior, arising from such frustration, are psychologically inevitable. In this setting of face-to-face contact with White people, any behavior is regarded as deviant. For instance, the

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[1] Robert L. Bennett, Commissioner. Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1967, p. 4.

[2] E. V. Stonequist. The Marginal Man, Introduction by R. E. Park. New York: Chas. Scribner's Sons, 1937, p. XV.

[3] R. A. Schermerhorn. "Marginal Man" in Julius Gold and William L. Kolb, editors, A Dictionary of the Social Sciences. New York: Free Press, 1965, pp. 406-407.

> refusal of the Sioux to accept the White man's value of working from eight to five in exchange for something, led to charges of his being lazy. The great Sioux values of individual autonomy and appreciation of leisure also made the White man regard him as irresponsible.
>
> In short, the white man's behavior is demanded of the Sioux, even though the latter does not share the values from which the former's behavior would psychologically follow. It may, therefore, be reasonably theorized that this clashing of cultural values should have adverse effects on the personalities and educational performance of Sioux Indian students.[1]

It can be readily seen that the problem is not merely one of education--the situation revolves around what kind of an education is best for Indian children. Added to this is the question of discovering where the Indian child is now and building on this information. Dr. Bryde felt that the Indian should be shown "how to take the best from the two cultures, blend and integrate these values within himself, with the result that he creates within himself a unique, precious, third kind of personality, which is his enriching contribution to society."[2]

Congress passed the Economic Opportunity Act (Public Law #88-452) on August 20, 1964. The programs were operated by the Office of Economic Opportunity with Interior Department cooperation. Programs which were made available to reservation Indians included the Job Corps, Neighborhood Youth Corps, Operation Head Start, Community Action Program, Vista, and other independent programs. Ten Job Corps Conservation Centers were approved for Indian reservation areas where disadvantaged young people receive a second chance at schooling plus skill training and a change of environment. Approximately 12,000 young Indians participated in 46 different Neighborhood Youth Corps Programs, engaging in a variety of constructive work projects as of June 30, 1965. Operation Head Start granted 90 percent Federal financial support to organize preschool programs to ease the adjustment of young children to regular schooling. They featured health services and helped to develop verbal skills and special abilities. By June, 1965, over 10,000 Indian children were a part of the program. Volunteers in Service to America (VISTA)--the Domestic Peace Corps--had assigned 18 workers to Indian reservations and scheduled classes to train several hundred more workers requested by Indian groups by 1965. Community Action Program (CAP) provided financial support for a broad range of antipoverty efforts in local communities. This in-depth approach to socioeconomic problems attracted 61 applications from Indian communities by June 1965, and 26 applications had been approved. Their proposals included adult educational enrichment programs; evening study halls for students; nursery schools and day-care centers for children of working parents; family counseling and guidance clinics; pre-employment training for service jobs; homemakers' service; manpower availability surveys of reservations; and a plan to preserve for posterity the Indian legends, folklore, tribal and family histories on recordings prepared by tribal elders.[1]

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[1] John F. Bryde. The Sioux Indian Student: *A Study of Scholastic Failure and Personality Conflict*. Pine Ridge, S. D.: Holy Rosary Mission, August 4, 1966, pp. 2-3.

[2] *Ibid*., p. 195.

By the end of the fiscal year 1966 ending on June 30, more than $31.9 million had been provided for "war on poverty" projects on Indian reservations under the Economic Opportunity Act. The heaviest activity had been in programs for community action and youth training. More than 2,600 Indians had found employment through work with CAP and Head Start, and 266 VISTA workers had been sent to 55 Indian communities.[1]

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[1] Nash, op. cit., 1965, pp. 20-22.

The early 1960's was a period of change in the administration of Federal, state, and local Indian affairs. The Office of Economic Opportunity was a significant part of the process which produced these changes through its philosophy of placing the responsibility on the Indians themselves for administering their own affairs, planning their own programs and solutions, and managing their own funds. Indian administration as had been developed by the Government had been a paternalistic, authoritarian management process toward which Indians often responded negatively, or passively accepted. By 1971, the Department of Interior, Labor, Commerce, Agriculture, Health, Education and Welfare, Housing and Urban Development, Justice, and Transportation, all had programs directed toward Indians as people with problems. The philosophy of the Office of Economic Opportunity allowed them to reward Indians for doing things for themselves, thereby allowing the Indians to find out that they could influence their own destiny and, in the same context, experience successes. Each Indian community operated at its own level of sophistication and the programs, themselves, were an educational process.[2]

At present, the following programs, together with the amounts of the grants, are a part of the Fort Berthold Reservation program:

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[1] Self Determination. Arizona Affiliated Tribes, Inc., a CAP project, OEO Grant, May, 1971.

[2] Robert L. Bennett, Commissioner. Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs. Washington: Govenment Printing Office, 1966, p. 17.

OFFICE OF ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY

Community Action Program	$187,000
Legal Services	59,722
Alcoholism	40,000
Emergency food	50,000
Cooperative Development	189,000

BUREAU OF INDIAN AFFAIRS

Parent Child Program	$ 34,310
Commodities	22,400
Tribal Work Experience	70,000
Home Improvement	35,000
Judicial Services	17,000
Home for Delinqents (building)	92,000
Tribal Police	45,000

HEALTH, EDUCATION AND WELFARE

Head Start	$160,000
Operating money for Home for Delinquents	33,500

DEPARTMENT OF LABOR

Public Service Careers	$206,322
Bus Transportation	120,297

PUBLIC HEALTH SERVICE

Community Health--Mandaree	$ 62,900

ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT ADMINISTRATION

Four Bears Tourism Complex	$1,193,000
Loan for Motel	400,000

ENVIRONMENTAL PROTECTION ADMINISTRATION

Four Bears Tourism Complex (Motel)	$ 27,000[1]

The annual Office of Economic Opportunity funding levels beginning with fiscal 1966 were as follows:

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[1] Interview with Gerald F. Keehn, Programs Officer, Fort Berthold Agency, July 15, 1971. Data supplied from files of Bureau of Indian Affairs, New Town, N. D.

1966	$354,000
1967	271,000
1968	273,000
1969	132,000
1970	109,000
1971	316,900
1972	525,728 [1]

Each school on the Fort Berthold Reservation is a public school district, paying for the education of the non-Indian children (including those with less than one-quarter Indian blood), the children of Government and school employees, and with the Bureau of Indian Affairs paying for the remainder. The teachers and employees are furnished either by the district or the Bureau in proportion to the number of Indian and non-Indian pupils.[2]

The school census of Indian children for fiscal 1971 shows that there are 1,137 elementary school children on the active permanent school census cards, 12 of whom are less than ¼ Indian and 30 of whom are between 5 and 6 years of age, leaving a net of 1,095 to be accounted for in elementary schools. The census shows that there are Fort Berthold elementary school children in the following states: Arizona-9, California-63, Colorado-9, Georgia-4, Iowa-1, Illinois-14, Indiana-1, Minnesota-8, Montana-39, North Dakota-925, Nebraska-5, Missouri-1, Ohio-3, Oklahoma-3, Oregon-7, Pennsylvania-5, South Dakota-18, Texas-5, Utah-1, Washington-12, Wisconsin-4, making a total of 1,137. North Dakota educated 81.4 percent of the total number of children while 18.6 percent attended school in 20 different states. Forty-two of those enrolled in schools other than North Dakota are living on local reservations and 350 are not living on any reservation. Federal day schools enroll 332 pupils and Federal boarding schools, 75, making a total of 407 students attending Federal schools. Public school enrollment amounts to 407, mission and private day schools, 11, and mission and private boarding schools, 2. The balance are students for whom definite information is not available.[1]

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[1] Self Determination, op. cit., 1971, pp. 182-183.

[2] Meyer, op. cit., p. 341.

There were 487 students in high school, 130 enrolled and 126 attending colleges and universities, and 45 enrolled in vocational training under P.L. 959. A breakdown shows that of those in high school, 314 were living on the reservation, 14 on other reservations, and 215 not on any reservation. The total number enrolled in public high schools were 272; Federal day high schools, 96; Federal boarding high schools, 69; and mission and private boarding schools, 13. There were 130 enrolled in colleges and universities and 45 in vocational training schools. Sixty one of those in college attended somewhere in North Dakota and the balance, in out of state schools, with Haskell, alone, enrolling 31.[2]

At present, there are three Cooperative School Districts located at Twin Buttes, Mandaree, and White Shield and they are operated jointly by the Bureau of Indian Affairs and a locally elected school board. The present philosophy of the Bureau of Indian Affairs is to contract out positions in teaching, administration, busing, and maintenance to the local school board. This means paying the money out to the employees hired by the school board. For fiscal 1972, Mandaree has contracted $23,000 for placements and Twin Buttes, $18,000, while at White Shield this program is not in operation.[1]

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[1] Henry Balliet, Education Administrator, Annual Report of the Office of Education Programs. Fort Berthold Agency, June 30, 1971.

[2] Ibid.

BOUNDARIES

On March 13, 1970, the Solicitor's Office ruled that the boundaries of the Fort Berthold Indian Reservation had not changed because of the 1910 Homestead Act. This action increased the amount of land included in the Fort Berthold Reservation to a total of 830,936 acres from the previous total of 466,290 acres. Statistics concerning land ownership before and after the court action, allowing for the "taking" area were as follows:

LAND OWNERSHIP

	Acres 1967	Acres 1971
Alienated (out of trust)	44,594	408,297
Allotted (in trust)	380,383	378,137
Tribal (in trust)	41,139	41,618
Government Reserve	174	164
Public Domain	---	2,720
Total land area in the Reservation	466,290	830,936
Taking Area (for Garrison Reservoir)	152,360	152,360
Total Area	618,650 [2]	983,396 [3]

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[1] Sylvester J. Gores, Education Specialist (Guidance). Interview on July 15, 1971. Data supplied from the files of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, New Town, N. Dak.

[2] Comprehensive Development Program for Fort Berthold Indian Reservation. Prepared in Cooperation with the Tribal Business Council by the Fort Berthold Agency and Aberdeen Area Office Staff, 1967, p. 3.

[3] Keehn, loc. cit.

Within the new boundary, the Indian population is 2,750; the average income is $4,070; the average family size is five; the birth rate is 40 per thousand and the death rate is 9 per thousand; the life span is estimated to be 55 years; and the educational level is approximately the tenth grade. When all of the land is included, 30.2 per cent of the land is used by Indians, of which 28.4 is considered rangeland and 1.8 is suitable for dry land farming. The non-Indians use 69.6 per cent of the land of which 24.8 is rangeland and 45.8 is dry land farming.[1]

CLAIMS

The Three Affiliated Tribes of the Fort Berthold Reservation, petitioned the defendent, the United States Government, docket number 350-A, for redress in the value of the land ceded on March 3, 1891. The United States Court of Claims awarded a total of $1,850,000 in 1970, but as of this date, no disposition has been made of the moneys. The Fort Berthold Indians have not been able to formulate a program on how the money will be spent (one of the requirements of the U. S. Government) leaving the balance in the United States Treasury bearing interest. The breakdown of this account as of April 1, 1971 is as follows:

$1,850,000	Total Award.
11,560	Expert Witness.
182,000	Attorney fees.
15,000	Advance planning fund.
$1,636,440	Net Balance
3,227.17	Interest earned.
116,063.33	Interest earned.
19,023.00	Interest earned.
$1,774.753.50	Balance on April 1, 1971.

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[1] Ibid.

Docket numbers 350-B, C, D, E, F, G, and H are still pending before the Claims Court with the possibility of additional sums being awarded to the Indians for various losses incurred at the hands of the non-Indians.[1]

General Assistance (Welfare Program) has varied a great deal in the last few years as seen by the following listing:

1954	$32,175	1960	$31,419	1966	$59,625
1955	31,267	1961	35,530	1967	36,715
1956	12,799	1962	96,267	1968	48,152
1957	18,775	1963	64,411	1969	57,658
1958	6,008	1954	57,669	1970	66,248
1959	23,497	1965	74,304	1971	86,608

For 1972, the projected cost is $103,920 and the projected case load is 234.[2]

It will be recalled that the final payment on the "taking" moneys was made in the form of a per capita payment of $1343.41 in 1958 and this was the low point in welfare payments ($6,008). From this time, on, welfare increased until 1964 when Government programs began to give employment to some of the clients who were on welfare. The next low was in 1967 and since then there has been a gradual climb in expenditures for welfare. For fiscal 1972, an all time high will be reached in spite of the money being expended for Government programs. Part of this represents increases in the amount of aid each client receives, but part of it is seen as a consequence of the national depression which is influencing a flow of urban Indians back to the reservation. Mr. Beechie stated that most of the present welfare cases were clients who had previously been on a training program and were now back on the reservation. Apparently training without extensive followup on the job is not a permanent answer to relocation problems.[1]

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[1] Keehn, _loc. cit._

[2] Gary Beechie, Social Service Representative. Interview on July 15, 1971. Data supplied from files of Bureau of Indian Affairs, New Town, N. D.

PROBLEMS

A study conducted during 1970 by the Missouri River Basin Investigations Project (MVBIP) discloses problem areas which developed among the Fort Berthold Indians.

> Recent agricultural changes releasing labor from farms; a dramatic increase in Indian population; economic and social disruption brought by the filling of the Garrison Reservoir; and the geographic and cultural isolation of the area, have caused a high level of unemployment among the Indians and under-employment among Indians and non-Indians. The area economy is not growing at the state or national rate. More rapid migration out of the area is one solution to unemployment and a lagging economy, but development of local resources can also solve many of the area's problems by creating employment for the excess labor.[2]

The study was designed to place into a useful perspective the historic resource use trends in the five county area of which the Fort Berthold Reservation is a part, and to project future development. It discusses many of the present problems on the reservation.

The study concluded that:

> The area's basic farm economy continues to undergo major changes. Larger farms and increased mechanization have resulted in radical changes in the agricultural economic base. The inundation of the Missouri Valley, following closure of the Garrison Dam in the early 1950's, radically altered not only the economic base, but the entire social structure of the reservation area.

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[1] Ibid.

[2] John C. Dibbern, Director. The Fort Berthold Reservation Area--Its Resources and Development Potential. Billings, Montana: U. S. Department of the Interior, Bureau of Indian Affairs, Missouri River Basin Investigation Project, Project No. 196, January, 1971, p. VII.

> The forced relocation of three small towns and over 85 percent of the Indian population plus the geographical separation of the reservation into five segments, created a social dislocation which requires continuing adjustment.[1]

When discussing the relevant factors in the development and application of human resources, it says:

> All physical resources have a development potential only as the human resources of an area choose to exploit them. The quality (the type), as well as the quantity (the extent) of exploitation is the product of human choice. The choices to be made and the ability to develop and use these resources, are limited only by the characteristics of the population.
>
> The ability of a population to use the available natural resources and to control as well as modify their own social characteristics is probably a more critical input for the emerging sophisticated economic society than the relative wealth of the physical resources themselves.[2]

The report indicates that the ideologies and the social organizations of the Fort Berthold Indians, which are two of the factors involved in human institutions, can and will determine the extent and speed in which the Indians will utilize the natural resources of the area, other things being equal.

The size of the population is a relevant factor toward the area of possibilities for human choices. The population peak of the 5 county area which includes the Fort Berthold Reservation, was reached around 1930 and was followed by a decline which is expected to continue until 1980. Movement from the farms is the major cause of the decrease.[3] On the reservation, itself, there has been a steady increase in population of slightly over 2 percent per year. While there has been only a small decline in the death rates (the death rate is less than 2 percent higher than the surrounding white population), the birth rate, which has tailed off sharply since 1962, is much higher than the surrounding area (16.7 percent). The level of migration was similar for the Indians and non-Indians in the area for the period 1960-1968. Some generalizations to be made on the situation are:

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[1] Ibid., p. 2.

[2] Ibid., p. 7.

[3] Ibid., p. 9.

1) There appears to be a definite decline in the percentage of population 14 years and under between 1960 and 1968, after two decades of relative stability or slight increase for both sectors of the population.

2) There appears to be a significant increase in the 15-19 year age group in both the Indian and total population between 1960 and 1968 after two decades of relative stability.

3) The percentages represented in both the 20-24 and 25-34 year age groups has decreased steadily since 1940 for the total population, while for the Indian population the younger group increased to a measurable extent, which was offset to some extent by a decrease in the older group.

4) In the 35-44 year group, both the total and Indian population experienced a definite increase since 1960, continuing an erratic pattern since 1940. The same pattern holds but to a less marked extent in the 45-64 year age groups.

5) In the 65 year and over group, both the total and Indian population increased very measurably. . . another generalization . . . is that the Indian population is much younger than the total population. This is further supported by the marked difference in crude birth rates previously pointed.[1]

Some conclusions derived from the intensive study on population of the reservation and its surrounding five county area include:

1) Unless there is a substantial increase in employment opportunities, the total population will continue to decline at rates similar to that for the period of 1950-68.

2) Contributing to this decline will be an aging population with the inherent lowering birth rates.

3) Further movement off the farm is expected. The larger towns will continue to grow, but not substantially.

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[1] Ibid., pp. 11-15.

4) If Indian migration is maintained at the 1960-68 levels, and if birth rates continue to decline in a manner similar to that of the past decade, Indian population levels will stablize within the next few years and then begin to decline. Unless unusual development within the area takes place, there is no reason to believe that the migration rate will diminish. With increased emphasis on programs for family planning and with declining population in the 20-34 age groups, the main child bearing ages for women, there is ample evidence that the birth rate will continue to decline.[1]

Prior to the taking, 85 percent of the Indian population in the Fort Berthold Indian Reservation was concentrated along the Missouri River bottomlands and its tributaries. The social systems were organized in the form of clusters of family dwellings. Following the taking, a massive relocation program found the Indians on allotted holdings which possessed minimum housing. This caused a need for more modern transportation and higher cash requirements for fuel and food, forcing a change in the technological requirements, which in turn affected the ideologies. Social patterns began to center around the school systems, including both reservation and non-reservation school systems.

The last ten years has seen a consolidation taking place with the public housing programs and employment opportunities centering around the schools and government agency activities. This new development can be seen as a third relocation of the Indian families since the late 1940's, and forces a third restructuring of the social systems. New employment opportunities on the reservation, migration from the reservation, increased public welfare dependency, or a combination of the three seem to the alternatives for future development.[1]

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[1] Ibid., pp. 15-16.

[2] Ibid., pp. 17-19.

The per capita income for the Indians has consistently been at about one-third of that for the surrounding area. The income per household is approximately one-half of the general population level, but the average number per household for the Indians is 5.7 compared with 3.5 for the area. Four out of five Indian families had an income of less than $3,000 (poverty level) compared to less than one out of three for the area, and only about one in twenty Indian families had incomes exceeding $5,000 compared with one out of two for the area.[1]

The situation on the farms has been changing in the five county area of which the Fort Berthold Reservation is a part. The average age of the operator was 48.1 in 1964, an increase of 1.2 percent in the last five years. The average size of the farms increased 390 acres (from 818 to 1208 acres) in the same period. Wheat is the primary crop but it is forced to compete in a world wide market which has a surplus. The numbers of cattle peaked in 1965 (nearly 350,000) while sheep and swine have shown little change.[2]

SUMMARY

Prior to the "taking" 85 percent of the Indian population who lived on the Fort Berthold Reservation had established their homes in clusters along the Missouri River bottomlands and its tributaries. Since this was the same area which was to be flooded with the formation of Lake Sakakawea, most of the families were uprooted and forced to occupy homes in the hills above, an area which was entirely different from their traditional land base.

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[1] Ibid., pp. 19-23.

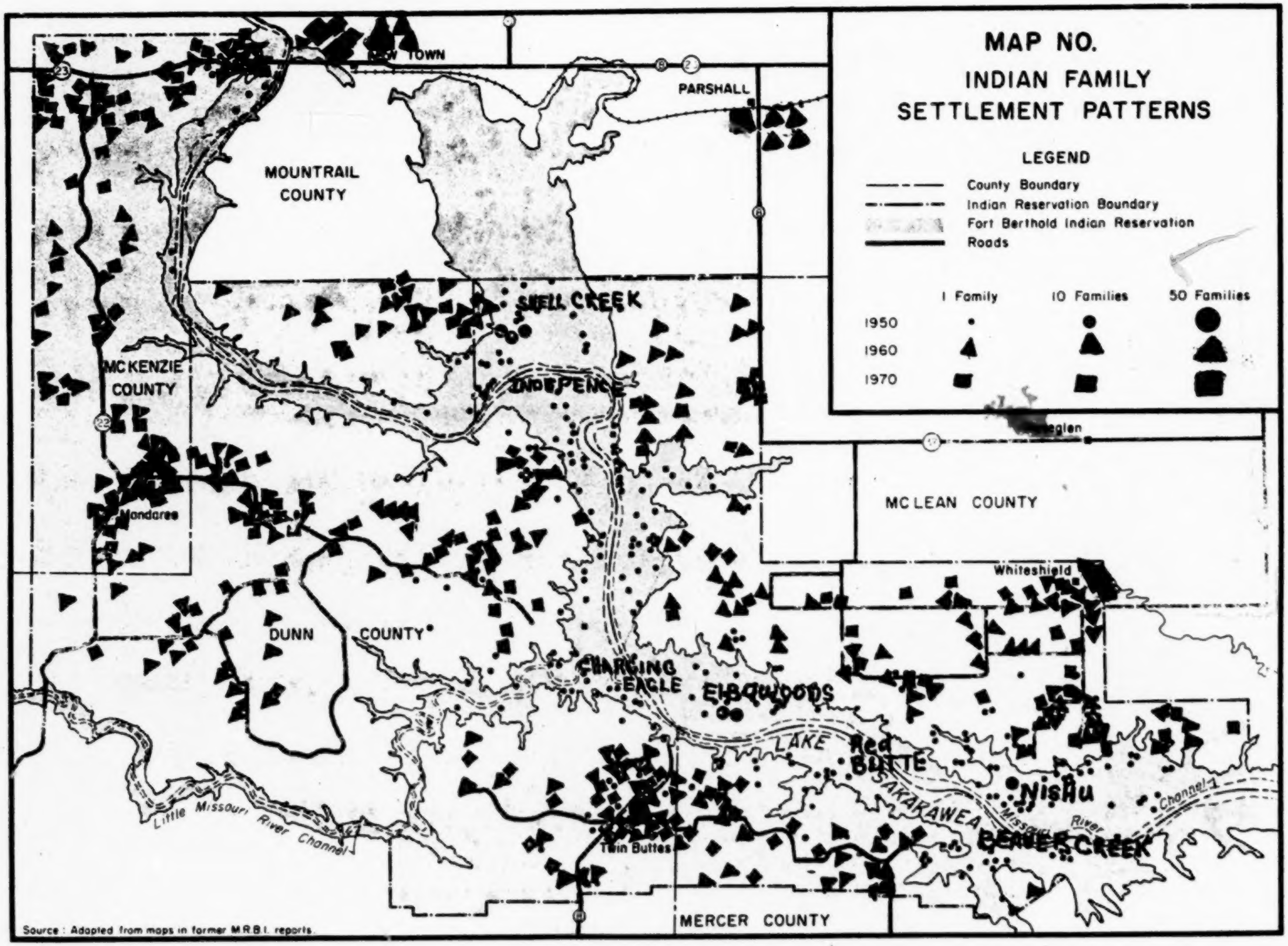
[2] Ibid., pp. 71-82.

Not only were the social systems (relationships) disrupted, but they were almost completely destroyed since the homes were scattered throughout the reservation. By 1960, this migration to the country had reached its peak and a new clustered pattern of home building evolved spearheaded principally by Government home building programs and employment openings which became available because of Governmental activities. The new population centers grew around the school locations at Mandaree, Twin Buttes, White Shield, and New Town (see map, p. 285).

The Government programs, especially under the Office of Economic Opportunity, tended to encourage Indian administration and Indian designed programs and have the long term effect of developing Indian leadership. More than $2 million is being expended for various purposes in the form of Grants in Aid in fiscal 1972.

The population growth curve is showing signs of stabilizing with the death rate closely paralleling that of the white community and the birth rate dropping more than 25 per thousand per year. There will still be an economic problem since the natural increase is still 17 per thousand at a time when the natural resources of the reservation in its present stage of economic development is not adequate to supply the existing population with an adequate standard of living. If the people stay on the reservation, employment opportunities will have to be increased in some manner, either from the public or the private sector, or both. To judge the standard of living of these people from the standards of the non-Indian culture is misleading, since many of the Indians still see subsistence as their ultimate goal.

MAP NO.
INDIAN FAMILY SETTLEMENT PATTERNS


LEGEND
County Boundary
Indian Reservation Boundary
Fort Berthold Indian Reservation
Roads
1 Family
10 Families
50 Families
1950
1960
1970
NEW TOWN
PARSHALL
MOUNTRAIL COUNTY
SHELL CREEK
INDEPENCE
MC KENZIE COUNTY
Mandaree
DUNN COUNTY
MC LEAN COUNTY
Whiteshield
CHARGING EAGLE
ELBOWOODS
LAKE SAKAKAWEA
Red BUTTE
Nishu
BEAVER CREEK
Missouri River
Channel
Little Missouri River Channel
Twin Buttes
MERCER COUNTY
23
22
2
8

Source: Adapted from maps in former M.R.B.I. reports.

The economy of the United States has been undergoing a small depression, forcing some of the non-reservation Indians off their jobs. Many of these have returned to the reservation, amplifying the welfare problem.

This has been the first time in the history of the Fort Berthold Reservation that there has been a critical shortage of land in relation to population, but it must also be remembered that the Indians are at the present using approximately only 30 percent of the land they now own.

The Tribal Council has been buying some of the fractionated acreage from the heirs in order to consolidate land holdings, but this program is in its infancy.

With the construction of the Garrison Dam, its "closing" in 1951, and the formation of the Garrison Reservoir, the Fort Berthold people were to experience one of the most rapid change periods in their history. Several events contributed to this rapid change:

1. The Federal Government changed its policies by focusing on groups rather than individuals. It granted the right for a minority to exist in cultural independence, but placed the responsibility for adjustment to the new technologies on the minority group itself.

2. The "taking" for the Garrison Reservoir spread the population out into the remaining portion of the reservation, destroying the older social forms and forcing new ones to develop. During this period, the resulting anomie often contributed to a greater possibility that the older social forms could be replaced by newly developing ones.

3. World War II and later wars brought many of the Fort Berthold people into contact with a money economy. When these people returned to the reservation, their new-found social knowledge became more diffused.

4. The new Government programs were the same whether they applied to the Indian or any other member of society. The Indian was now being treated similar to any other citizen.

5. During the 1960's, much of the surplus labor force migrated from the reservation to take advantage of better opportunities in

urban areas. This tended to improve the welfare of these Indians.

6. The size of the population was a serious problem and will continue to be one as long as there is a rapid population gain without an economic base sufficiently large to support it.

7. The modern technologies often actuate the mechanisms of social change in that a need for such things as automobiles, electricity, television, and other modern conveniences create a market which can only be filled if the buyer can secure a share of the purchasing power. In essence, this means that technology is forcing the Indian into a money economy, destroying many of the residual values of the former subsistence economy.

The process of change has not been easy. All change demands death to some values and gives life to others. All human groups have a wide range of behavior available to them, but they tend to limit their responses to only those approved by the group and the group reinforces approved responses by group action. When the group's goals are similar to those of the majority of the culture, there are few problems, but when they differ from those of the majority, the deviant behavior often becomes more fixed, slowing up the process of change. This is why the group approach should show greater response to the needs of an industrial culture than the individual approach.

At the present time, there is a great deal of effort and money being expended toward this end. It is too soon to assess the permanent results and, therefore, it would be impossible to call any changes "progress."

CHAPTER VI

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS, AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Summary and Conclusions

In order to get an idea of how far we have traveled in the history of the Three Tribes, some observations made by persons who are working with the reservation people are appropriate at this time. Keith Soiseth, the County Extension Agent for 1971, observed that if we think in terms of efficient farming operations, there are few full-blooded Indians on the reservation who have a sound economic operation although some are making progress and should be successful in the future. Their basic problem is learning how to operate in a cash economy. The best way, he felt, to assist the Indians to improve their farming operations is to provide enough professional help; the professional people should live in the individual communities, and make frequent contact with the Indian operators. This program should be coordinated with the Extension Service.[1]

Dale McGrady, a typical example of the type of young Indian who is gaining administrative competence under the Office of Economic Opportunity programs, said that the Community Action program is based on the idea that people must become aware of their rights and develop the motivation to help themselves. It focuses their attention away from the notion of getting something for nothing by giving clients supportive services, including economic aid.[1]

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[1] Keith Soiseth, County Agent. Interview held on July 15, 1971, at New Town, North Dakota.

Herbert J. Wilson, M. D., who came to Elbowoods eighteen years ago as a Public Health Officer, is now at New Town in private practice. His philosophy concerning the Indian is that he is a human being and should be treated like anybody else. During his stay on the reservation, he has seen the life span increase from about 42.5 years in 1954, to 58 years at the present. Since the repeal of the N. Dak. prohibition law as it applied to the Indians in 1953, alcoholism has been an increasingly great problem. Dr. Wilson felt that alcohol is the Indian's cheapest tranquilizer, one which releases the Indian's many inhibitions. There is some medical evidence, according to Dr. Wilson, to support the hypothesis that the effect of alcohol is longer lasting on the Indian's body which fails to metabolize alcohol as rapidly as the average white man's body.[2]

David Little Swallow, Sr., a counselor with the Alcohol Program, said that it takes experience and time to learn how to use liquor. He felt that today's Indian is becoming more capable of handling it.[3]

Sylvester J. Gores, Education Specialist (Guidance) at the Agency, felt that we are all a part of our past which includes our heredity, environment, folkways, mores, laws, morals, habits, and religion. Our interest is in what makes us the way we are more than what we do. The more traveling we do and the more associations we have with other people who are different, the better able we are to accept change.[1]

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[1] Dale McGrady, Director, Community Action Program. Interview held on July 15, 1971, at New Town, North Dakota.

[2] Herbert J. Wilson, Medical Doctor at New Town. Interview held on July 15, 1971, at New Town, North Dakota.

[3] David Little Swallow, Sr., Counselor, Alcoholic Program. Interview held on July 15, 1971, at New Town, North Dakota.

On the subject of progress of minority groups (Indians) in education, Mr. Gores says:

> Due to many causes, minority groups haven't scored as well on standard achievement tests as the dominant group in this country. Some of these reasons may be: deprived children for the most part are not introspective or introverted; nor are they greatly concerned with the self. They respond much more to the external, to the outside. They are not given to self-blame or self-criticism, but rather are more likely to see the causes of their problems in external forces. Sometimes this can take the form of scapegoating and projection, but it may also lead to appropriate placement of censure and accompanying anger.
>
> Minority members often incorporate the dominant groups' views of them; therefore, they have low self-esteem, conflicting feelings, and sometimes self-hatred.
>
> . . . No general rules can apply to minority group education because of the wide range of backgrounds, location, advancement, adjustment, and cultural patterns.
>
> The educational institutions cope with situations which have developed at home, in the community, and in school.
>
> . . . What Indian youth want above all else is meaningful employment opportunity, much of it on or near the home reservation, and the training which will enable them to take advantage of it.[2]

Gerald Keehn, Tribal Relations Officer of the Fort Berthold Agency, has made several observations concerning the situation on the Fort Berthold Reservation. He said that development of the reservations, industrially and commercially, had become a primary goal, making education the crucial need. Adult vocational training is, therefore, a big step in the War on Indian Poverty.

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[1] Sylvester J. Gores, Education Specialist. Interview held on July 15, 1971, at New Town, North Dakota.

[2] Sylvester J. Gores, Education Specialist, "Academic Achievement of Minority Groups" (unpublished paper), New Town, N. Dak., April 8, 1970, p. 1.

One of the major needs for expansion of any new enterprise is the availability of long term loans. Of equal importance is sound management practices and policies. Due to the scarcity of trained personnel, it is very possible that it will be necessary to recruit management from outside the reservation even if new industry should move in.

There are numerous advantages for any industry to be established on this reservation. Indian areas could supply abundant trainable labor who have excellent, culturally learned manual dexterity and eye-hand coordination, plus an appreciation for fine detail. Indian laborers can produce a profit for the employer.

According to Gerald Keehn, there is an industrial potential on the Fort Berthold Reservation. However, there is no way to determine if this potential can be fulfilled.

If two groups of people who jointly occupy an area have dissimilar social systems, conflict arises since each attempts to preserve those political and economic conditions which are compatible with its own institutions. When these two groups differ in their ability to impose changes on the other group, the group which possesses superior technology generally imposes or attempts to impose its institutions on the group with the inferior technology. The historical evidence presented in Chapter Five leads to the conclusion that this is what has happened between the members of the white European culture and members of the Indian culture as represented by the Mandan, Hidatsa, and Arikara Indians on the Fort Berthold Reservation in North Dakota.

At first, the Indians attempted to preserve those values and life

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[1] Gerald Keehn, Tribal Relations Officer. Interview held on July 15, 1971, at New Town, North Dakota.

styles which would be compatible with their native institutions by withdrawing from actual contact with the whites. Eventually there was no place to remain geographically separate so the Indians preserved their institutions as best they could by a minimum of social contact with the non-Indian culture. War and disease were the first two major factors to contend with, followed by the decimation of their food supply (loss of the buffalo). Eventually, the Indians became completely dependent on the majority culture and from that time the government attempted to force the Indians to change the nature of their institutions; first by breaking up their tribal governments, and then by destroying their life styles. The Dawes Act which marked the beginning of the Allotment period represented the means by which the government attempted to accomplish this change. There were innumerable other changes which served to implement the Government's drive to extinguish the native culture, a few of which include: (1) formal education was introduced on the reservation and orders were given that instruction must be in English; (2) boarding schools were established and given priority over day schools; (3) rations were distributed directly to the families and not through the chief; (4) the male members were encouraged to perform tasks such as farming which previously had been done only by women ("no work--no money policy"); (5) women were given employment and their status was elevated to that of the white woman; (6) homesteading and rental of allotted lands were encouraged in order to achieve closer contact with the whites; (7) missionaries brought "the gospel" to the Indians; and (8) doctors proved that the Public Health Service was superior to the Medicine Man.

Rival Indian tribes, through warfare, accelerated the formation of a dependency relationship of the Fort Berthold people on the whites.

Social dependency contributed to this dependency also. For instance, through the centuries the European culture had learned about the germ theory of disease and its prevention through cleanliness, medicines, etc., which allowed them to survive in densely populated communities. Since the social forms of the Indians did not include these practices, disease was one of the main reasons for the loss of population. The isolation of Indians accounts for the fact that the prairie Indians had less disease and were numerically stronger than the Fort Berthold people during the period from 1800 to 1900.

It gradually became apparent to the governmental administrators that, in spite of the size of the appropriations throughout the years, there had been a minimum of social change. After considerable investigation, the tribes were permitted to reorganize. This plan was proposed during the Hoover administration and implemented under Roosevelt's New Deal.

World War II and the Garrison Dam Project brought serious disruption to the Fort Berthold people. They found themselves with almost triple their population and a greatly reduced land base. In addition, their social system was completely destroyed since four out of five families had to move from the friendly Missouri River bottomlands to the harsh, treeless, windswept prairies For the first time in their history, they found themselves uprooted from their traditional communal social forms.

The possibility of salvaging their former subsistence way of life is now gone. They are being forced into a money economy if only to obtain welfare payments. The educational level is high (approximately tenth grade) and for the last twenty years there has been a steady migration from the reservation.

The majority culture has achieved its initial goal--the destruction of the original social forms of the Fort Berthold people. It is too soon to tell what the new forms will be like. Certainly, technology is changing both the non-Indian and the Indian cultures at the same time. However, it may have been more difficult for the Indians since they have consistently been in a more primitive stage of development and, therefore, more resistant to change.

The lack of family stability and the presence of alcoholism are testimony to the pressures being exerted on the Fort Berthold people. There are signs, however, that these forms of adjustment are giving way to ideas which include productive labor in a cash economy.

Education plays its role in every step of this process. Originally, education was defined as a formal process taught in school whereby a young person could learn different social forms which he would incorporate into his own life. However, when these "educated" children returned to the reservation, the local culture forced them to revert back to the traditional ways. This was the reason that boarding schools were so disappointing.

White professional farmers were hired to live and work in the Indian settlements to serve as "models" or "experts" and whose duties included those of teaching the Indian males correct ways to handle livestock and machinery. The traditional social system allowed only a partial adjustment to the European farming methods. Those changes which had been adopted would have continued for some time had not the Garrison Dam taken the Fort Berthold Indians' land away from them.

At the present time, public schools educate the young and

Governmental Grant in Aid programs and trade schools attempt to give the adult Indian special skills. There is a great deal of communication between the Indian and non-Indian cultures. Education is defined as a means of transmitting the kind of learning which is necessary to make the Indian a self-supporting and self-sufficient individual, equal to any other citizen in the general population. Will this be achieved? It is too soon to tell. The goals have never changed, but the methods of implementing the process of change so as to achieve these goals have undergone considerable alteration. There is a difference between having to do something because one is forced to do by a superior power, and doing the same task because one wants to do it. (It is the task of the social scientist to find the key to obtain the willing cooperation of the Indian community in its task to build a new social system compatible with a twentieth century industrial economy).

One of the basic positions taken by educators has been the theory that the process of education should proceed from where the person is at the moment. In implementing the educative process throughout public systems, the progress of the student is determined by categorizing students into classes and presenting information to these people in relation to these categorizations. One problem with the present public educative system lies in the fact that these categories are chosen from the experiences of the majority of the students and often have little or no meaning for children who grow up in different cultures.

As Father Bryde (see p. 269) suggested, education should start by sensitizing students to the notion that all cultural patterns are learned and the learning process has its roots in the social class to which the parents identify. The particular value systems of any individual are, therefore, seen as emanating from the social position of the families. If the student can discover the origins of these beliefs, he can begin to treat them as mores (capable of being changed) instead of as sacred morals (not subject to change or scrutiny). Flexibility in value construction is the prelude to learning since any value has to be replaced by another value in order for learning to occur.

Generally, value change comes as a by-product of technology. If the Indians did not use the technological inventions, they would have little incentive for change. As long as their goals were tied to subsistence living, they did not need to alter their social forms to any great extent. However, when they were forced to move to the hills above the Missouri River valley, they could no longer gain a living by their traditional subsistence means. There was too little land left on the reservation to support the population without making technological changes, thus forcing them to make adjustments in their life styles.

One of the ways to meet this problem was to encourage migration from the reservation. Since the population of North Dakota had been declining in recent years, fewer and fewer jobs were available, forcing the Indian to migrate to urban centers in the United States. Sylvester J. Gores described the changes the Indian experienced in his movement from a reservation to an urban setting:[1]

> 1. From a home and community of security to one of strangers and lack of security.
>
> 2. From a community where he had a credit rating to one where he has little or no credit rating.

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[1] Sylvester J. Gores, Education Specialist (Guidance). Problems Involved in the Transformation of an Indian Family From Reservation Life to an Urban Setting. (Unpublished paper), May 1, 1970.

3. From a community where he had his own shelter to a community where he had to pay rent and pay for all other facilities.

4. From a community where he and his family were well accepted to one where they felt no one cared about them.

5. From a community where his relatives helped take care of his family to one where he and his wife had to assume full responsibility.

6. From a community where the school accepted his children and paid most of the fees to a school system that asked the patrons to share some of the educational costs.

7. From a community where they could all enjoy the "outdoors" to one that made them feel "shut in."

Needless to say, the urban Indian longed for the security of the social system as it operated on the reservation and needed little encouragement to come back to live. With the coming of the present Grants in Aid, many "success models" living in urban areas returned to the reservation to seek employment.

An ecological problem has risen on the Fort Berthold Reservation in that the reservation cannot support its present population with its limited resources. If the grants encourage a return of many of those who have migrated, has anything been gained? The answer is both yes and no. Yes, from the fact that many of the Fort Berthold people who have made adaptations to the money economy are now physically present and can serve as success models for the younger children to see. The answer is "no" from the population standpoint because it further upsets the population-job ratio of the area. If the jobs are taken by returnees, people who have been living on the reservation will be forced to continue to subsist on public welfare.

Much of the present economy is directly supported by Government Grants in Aid and appropriations through the BIA. A history of Congressional action indicates that large grants should not be considered as permanent solutions. If the grants do not prepare the recipients for tasks which will give them economic support later when the grants run out, there will be an even greater economic problem than at present. The problem of overpopulation will have to be solved in some manner.

The Northrup Aviation Company has located a small assembly plant at New Town and currently is employing approximately 35 Indians. Their intent is to eventually employ an estimated 200 but this is intention and not commitment. It all depends upon several factors, among which are Northrup's ability to train the kind of employees they need, availability of governmental contracts, and cost of production. Many of the returned Indians have already taken jobs in this plant. The future is still to be determined.

Other projects are being attempted such as the development of the Four Bears Recreational Area on the shores of Lake Sakakawea. The future of this complex is uncertain and, therefore, will not be turned over to the tribal council unless it is a money making venture.

No solution is possible without changes in the social system of the Fort Berthold people. Public education, including the elementary and secondary grades, higher education and trade schools are doing their share. Those who go to college apparently can compete with the non-Indians and are successful in holding good jobs in private as well as public sectors. Those who drop out find that they have to learn a trade in order to gain employment. In every case, education of some sort is involved. Education, therefore, includes that knowledge which gives the recipient the skills needed to compete in an industrial as well as in a subsistent economy.

Intelligence is often defined in terms of the ability of a person to adapt to new situations. No biogenic basis of intelligence has yet been firmly established and is, therefore, not being considered here. However, it is very important to analyze the social basis of intelligence since it is directly related to the subject of education. Lasswell suggests that the general association between cultural disprivilege and low intelligence test scores indicates that the ideas of cultural disprivilege and intelligence are very closely related. Low intelligence is often associated with poor adjustments to life which can form the basis of the cultural bias of most testing.[1] When the Indian is living among his own people where he adapts to the conditions consonant with his own value system, he shows great intelligence. It is only when he is asked to incorporate the often conflicting norms of the majority culture into his value system that he may show relatively poor adjustment. If intelligence were measured on a culture free basis, the Indian should be equal to any other group of people.

Apparently, social systems vary in their capacity to tolerate the introduction and adoption of new cultural materials. The basic rule is that the more primitive the culture, the more rigid their belief systems. The Indians have not been sensitized to the use of new social forms. Cultural diffusion is important in human development as seen in the general rule shich states that the larger the variety of social forms to which one becomes exposed, the easier it is to adjust to social changes.

It is in the area of change that the new Government programs have value. They are capable of motivating these people to become sensitized to newer types of social forms which can increase their capacity for change.

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[1] Thomas E. Lasswell. Class and Stratum. New York: Houghton Mifflin Co., p. 399.

Recommendations

The past has demonstrated that the government is subject to whims and vicissitudes which are dictated by a combination of the times, Congress, and the administration in power. No true continuity has been established over a long period of time for many of the more promising programs nor has measurement criteria been established which will determine whether or not progress has been achieved. It has always been assumed by the majority peoples that the Indian wants the same things as the white community. It is time to start a search for the fundamental wants of the Indians. After progress has been made in identification of the wants, Indians should be put in charge of the process of trying to achieve these needs and should be provided with sufficient assets and time to make these wants become a reality. In the process, the Indian will be able to discover that something he does can have an effect on what he gets--that he has some control over his own destiny. Success "models" who have been and are a part of each community need to become visible in order to sensitize the younger generation toward goals other than subsistence living. Ways must be found in which the individual will willingly invest of himself for community benefit using goals appropriate for living among non-Indian people. In the past, most of the suggestions and the motivationhave originated from outside influences. The Indian, on the other hand, has passively resisted change wherever possible. If the Indian leadership has grass roots support, all change is possible.

Greater emphasis should be placed on educative processes which are capable of making attitudinal changes and the direction of these changes should allow the Indian to utilize his own land resources to their fullest extent. In addition, blocks of fractionated land holdings should be removed and sufficient professional help provided whereby the Indian who wishes to make a living off the land has the mental as well as economic assets needed to make this a reality. In the past, "farmers" lived with the Indians on the reservation and were responsible for a great deal of the progress made up to the time of the "taking." Now, in order to adapt to their new environment, further instruction is needed, but this is not available in sufficient amount to achieve economic development for more than a handful of people. Para-professionals and professionals could be a great boost to Indian agriculture.

A function of education is to prepare the individual for life, meaning that education should make it possible for the individual to acquire the type of skills and attitudes which make it possible for him to successfully compete with his fellow man for positions in a division of labor. When a social system, and its accompanying educative processes, with which a person identifies, prepares its members for jobs which are non-productive or will become non-existent in the near future, the educational system must find a way to bridge this gap. To do this involves the use of both individual and group processes. If the values of the Indian culture provide a negative support for living in an industrial economy, the fault does not lie with the trainee--it lies with the educational system itself since it has not been responsive to those needs. We have not determined whether the problem lies in the quality of the teaching and administrative staff, the teaching methods, the concept of motivation, or in other areas of the educative process. Whatever the reason, research, properly designed, should be funded, their recommendations should be tried, and if they have merit, should be implemented in the whole educative process. Education of the Indian has been a problem because their cultural forms have been largely ignored. Any cultural system possesses the potential for growth--it can heal itself.

Since the carrying capacity of the land is sufficient for only a small portion of the existing population, the problem of what to do with the surplus families is very critical. There are a few choices available: 1) a minimum of financial support can be provided so the non-agricultural members of the reservation can be maintained at a subsistence level; 2) productivity of the land can be increased to the point where subsistence living could be attained for the present level of the population; 3) jobs can be made available on the reservation either by the public or private sector of the economy; 4) the overpopulation can be controlled by some kind of birth and death control; 5) the surplus families can be relocated in other areas, but to do this, both job skills and social skills must be provided; or, 6) we can take a multifactor approach to the problem, utilizing parts of all methods at the appropriate time.

The answer most likely will be found in implementing some combination of the above factors. The products of our technology have already been introduced to these people. These technological possessions should eventually provide the springboard (motivation) for economic progress The anomie which we witness today among these people is a sign of the decay of the old values. Experientially, we can expect that new values will rise to take their place and that what looks hopeless today might be the prelude for hope for the future.

What can be done about the educational process, itself? Very little of the "open classroom" type of instruction is currently being used in schools attended by Indian students. It is true that, under a truly excellent teacher, the particular system of instruction is not an important variable in any student's learning experience; but most teachers are "ordinary" and could advantageously use the teaching techniques of the "open classroom." In this type of instruction, the student's school learning experiences have their origins in his own interest area. He is not competing with the other children directly, but is able to progress in his own way, at his own speed, and compete against himself. Instruction of this type takes advantage of current Indian norms.

Further, the suggestion of Father Bryde (see p. 269) that the Indian student be exposed to cultural content when he enters school has merit. This type of instruction develops an understanding of the origins of his value system early enough in life to allow him to discover that this value system can be adapted to "industrial" and "post-industrial" societies.

Lastly, the educative process should involve both the adult and the student. History has demonstrated, as shown in this dissertation, that little success can be expected from a system in which the student is the sole recipient of educative attention. The Indian adults must also be exposed to new social processes. How it can be organized and implemented to reinforce the education of the Indian youth is a subject which lies beyond the scope of this investigation.

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APPENDIX

APPENDIX A

COMMISSIONERS OF INDIAN AFFAIRS

Commissioner	Date
Elbert Herring	1832
Carey Harris	1836
T. Hartley Crawford	1838
William Medill	1845
Orlando Brown	1849
Luke Lea	1850
George W. Manypenny	1853
James W. Denver	1857
Charles E. Mix	1858
James W. Denver	1858
Alfred B. Greenwood	1859
William P. Dole	1861
Dennis N. Cooley	1865
Lewis V. Bogy	1866
Nathanial G. Taylor	1867
Ely S. Parker	1869
Francis A. Walker	1871
Edward P. Smith	1873
John Q. Smith	1875
Ezra Hayt	1877
Roland E. Trowbridge	1880
Hiram Price	1881
John D. C. Atkins	1885
John H. Oberly	1888
Thomas J. Morgan	1889
Daniel M. Browning	1893
William A. Jones	1897
Francis E. Leupp	1904
Robert G. Valentine	1909
Cato Sells	1913
Charles H. Burke	1921
Charles J. Rhoads	1929
John Collier	1933
William Brophy	1945
John R. Nichols	1949
Dillon S. Meyer	1950
Glen L. Emmons	1954
Philleo Nash	1961
Robert Bennett	1966
Louis R. Bruce	1969

Sub-Agents on the Upper Missouri--St. Louis Office

W. N. Fulkerson	1837
Joshua Pilcher	1838

Indian Agents, Upper Missouri Agency--St. Louis Office

Andrew Dripps	1845
T. P. Moore	1846
G. C. Mallock	1847
Wm. S. Hatton	1849
Jas. H. Norwood	1852
Alfred J. Vaughn	1853
A. H. Redfield	1857

Indian Agents, Upper Missouri Agency, Dakota Superintendency

Samuel N. Latta	1862
Mahlon Wilkinson	1864

Indian Agents, Fort Berthold Agency

Capt. W. Clifford	1869
John E. Tappen	1871
L. B. Sperry	1874
C. W. Darling	1876
E. H. Alden	1877
William Courtenay	1879
Jacob Kauffman	1880
Maj. Abram J. Gifford	1884
Thos. H. B. Jones	1889
Jno. S. Murphy	1890
Al. H. Clapp	1893
Thomas Richards	1897
Amzi W. Thomas	1902

Superintendents, Fort Berthold Agency

Amzi W. Thomas	1904
Charles W. Hoffman	1908
Ernest W. Jermark	1914
Stephen Janus	1924
Lewis W. Page	1927
Ralph P. Stanion	1929
Lewis W. Page	1931
Halle D. McCullough	1933
William R. Beyer	1934
Christian H. Beitzel	1943
Benjamin Reifel	1947
Reginald W. Quinn	1950
Benjamin Reifel	1953
Ralph M. Shane	1954
Robert Bruce McKee	1956
Owen D. Morken	1958
Homer Gilliland	1961
James Howell	1963
James Keaton	1966

APPENDIX B

CONSTITUTION AND BYLAWS OF THE THREE AFFILIATED TRIBES OF THE FORT BERTHOLD RESERVATION NORTH DAKOTA

APPROVED JUNE 29, 1936

AMENDMENT NO. I, APPROVED OCTOBER 16, 1956

AMENDMENT NO. II, APPROVED DECEMBER 22, 1961

PREAMBLE

We, the Arickara, Gros Ventres, and Mandan Indians of the Fort Berthold Reservation, in North Dakota, eagerly embrace the opportunities for self-rule, and in order to enjoy the blessings of liberty and justice; to intelligently protect our vested rights under existing treaties and the constitution of the United States; to guarantee to our posterity a more hopeful future; to preserve and develop our real estate and resources; to promote educational efficiency for the enhancement of good citizenship; to promote the general welfare of the three tribes; to make possible a more hopeful, self-sustaining, and honorable living, socially and economically, do, with deep consciousness of God, as our sovereign, ordain and establish this constitution for the Three Affiliated Tribes of this reservation.

ARTICLE I--TERRITORY

The jurisdiction of the Three Affiliated Tribes of the Fort Berthold Reservation shall extend to Indian Trust and Tribal lands within the confines of the Fort Berthold Reservation, as defined in the treaty of September 17, 1851; to lieu lands outside of such boundaries; and to such other lands, within or without such boundaries, as have been or may be hereafter added thereto under any law of the United States, except as otherwise provided by law.

ARTICLE II--MEMBERSHIP

SECTION 1. The membership of the Three Affiliated Tribes of the Fort Berthold Reservation shall consist of all persons of Indian blood whose names appear on the official census roll of the three tribes as of April

1, 1935; and all children born to any member of the tribes who is a resident of the reservation at the time of the birth of said children.

Sec. 2. The Tribal Business Council shall have power to promulgate ordinances, subject to review by the Secretary of the Interior governing future membership, the adoption of new members and the revision of the membership rolls from time to time as determined by such ordinances.

ARTICLE III--GOVERNING BODY

SECTION 1. The governing body of the Three Affiliated Tribes of the Fort Berthold Reservation shall be known as the Tribal Business Council.

SECTION 2. The Tribal Business Council shall consist of 10 members selected from segments of the Reservation as follows:

Western Segment	3 Representatives
Northern Segment	1 Representative
Northeastern Segment	1 Representative
Eastern Segment	3 Representatives
Southern Segment	2 Representatives

SECTION 3. The boundaries of the segments shall be described as follows:

Western - That part of the reservation bounded on the East by the Garrison Reservoir and on the South by the Little Missouri River arm of the Garrison Reservoir.

Northern - That part of the reservation bounded on the West and South by the Garrison Reservoir and on the East by the Shell Creek arm of the Garrison Reservoir.

Northeastern - That part of the reservation bounded on the West by the Shell Creek arm of the Garrison Reservoir and on the South by the Luck Mound Creek arm of the Garrison Reservoir.

Eastern - That part of the reservation bounded on the South and West by the Garrison Reservoir and on the West and North by the Luck Mound Creek arm of the Garrison Reservoir.

Southern - That part of the reservation bounded on the North by the Garrison Reservoir and on the North and West by the Little Missouri River arm of the Garrison Reservoir.

SECTION 4. The Tribal Business Council shall have the authority to change the segment boundaries, subject to the approval of the voters of the reservation at any regular or special election.

SECTION 5. Within 3 days after the election for councilmen has been held, the newly elected Tribal Business Council shall meet and organize by electing a chairman, a vice chairman, a secretary, and a treasurer from its own members; and from within or outside its own members, it may elect or appoint a sergeant at arms and such other officers and committees as it may find necessary.

SECTION 6. The members of the Tribal Business Council shall hold office until the next regular election and until their successors are elected or appointed and qualified.

ARTICLE IV--NOMINATIONS AND ELECTIONS

SECTION 1. All elections shall be by secret ballot.

SECTION 2(a). Any member of the Three Affiliated Tribes of the Fort Berthold Reservation, who is 21 years of age or over, shall be entitled to vote at any election.

SEC. 2(b). Absentee ballots will be furnished to any enrolled non-resident member of the tribes upon request to the tribal secretary made 10 days before the election. The ballot must be returned to and reach the tribal secretary on or before the date of the election in order that it may be counted.

SECTION 3(a). Not less than 20 days nor more than 30 days after the date on which this amendment becomes effective an election shall be held. At said election representatives to the Tribal Business Council from the segments as described herein shall be elected to serve until September 1958. Thereafter, the regular election of a Tribal Business Council shall be held on the first Tuesday of September in even numbered years.

SEC. 3(b). Notice of regular elections shall be given by the secretary of the Tribal Business Council who shall give to all enrolled members of the tribe 30 days notice of the time and place of the regular election. In the event the tribal secretary shall fail to give the appropriate notice, or in case a regular election has not been held, the Secretary of the Interior, upon the receipt of a petition signed by at least 30 percent of the adult members of the tribe, shall call such election and give 25 days notice, setting the time and place.

SEC. 4. Special elections may be called by a two-thirds vote of the Tribal Business Council in favor of such special election, or by a petition signed by at least 10 percent of the qualified voters of each community as provided in Article VIII.

SEC. 5. All elections shall be held under the supervision of the Tribal Business Council or an election board appointed by that Council, and the Tribal Business Council or the election board appointed by it, shall make rules and regulations governing all elections, and shall designate the polling places and the election officers.

SEC. 6. In the first election after the adoption of this amendment any qualified voter of the Three Affiliated Tribes of the Fort Berthold Reservation who is a bona fide resident of one of the segments described herein may become a candidate to represent said segment on the Tribal Business Council by filing a notice of his candidacy with the Secretary of the Tribal Business Council at least 15 days before the election in which he is to be a candidate. In all succeeding elections a qualified voter to be eligible to become a candidate must have resided in the segment he proposes to represent for a period of at least six months next preceding the date of the election. At least 10 days before the election, the Secretary of the Tribal Business Council shall post the names of all candidates in each voting community. In the event that any community has no qualified candidate, as provided herein, such community may nominate one or more candidates by petition signed by at least 10 qualified voters of such community.

ARTICLE V--VACANCIES AND REMOVAL FROM OFFICE

SECTION 1. If a council member shall die, resign, permanently remove from the reservation, or be removed for cause, the Councilshall declare such position vacant and shall elect to fill the unexpired term from a list of names recommended by a petition signed by a majority of the voters of the community in which the vacancy occurs, and provided that the person elected or appointed by the Tribal Business Council to fill the unexpired term shall be a resident of the community in which the vacancy occurred, and otherwise eligible for the office.

SEC. 2. The Tribal Business Council may expel a member for cause by seven or more members voting for such expulsion, but before any vote is taken on the matter, such member shall be given an opportunity to answer any and all charges at a designated meeting of the Council, and the decision of the Tribal Business Council shall be final as to the expulsion or retention of such member.

ARTICLE VI--POWERS

SECTION 1. The Three Affiliated Tribes of the Fort Berthold Reservation, acting through their Tribal Business Council shall have the powers enumerated in this Article, but any power exercised through that council shall be subject to a popular referendum as provided in this Constitution.

SEC. 2. The exercise of the powers enumerated in this Constitution is subject to any limitations imposed by the Statutes of the United States or the Constitution of the United States, and to all express restrictions upon such powers contained in this Constitution and Bylaws.

SEC. 3. The powers enumerated in this Section 3 shall be subject to the approval of the Secretary of the Interior, and may be exercised through the Tribal Business Council which shall have the power, subject to popular referendum as provided in Article VIII of this Constitution.

(a) To present and prosecute any claims or demands of the Three Affiliated Tribes and to assist members of the Three Affiliated Tribes in presenting their claims or grievances before any court or agency of government, and to employ attorneys of record or representatives for such services, and to determine their fees.

(b) To promulgate ordinances governing law enforcement on the reservation, and to set up courts for the trial and punishment of offenders against such ordinances in cases which do not come within the jurisdiction of the Federal courts exclusively.

(c) To promulgate ordinances and to adopt rules and regulations and codes for the regulation of the domestic relations of members, and governing marriage, divorce, legitimacy, adoption, the care of dependents, the punishment of offenses against the marriage relationship, and the issuance of licenses and decrees of divorce, all of the matters enumerated in this section to be administered by the Tribal Business Council through a reservation or tribal court, except such of these matters as the Tribal Business Council may by ordinance or resolution leave to State laws and courts.

(d) To remove or exclude from the limits of the reservation, non-members of the tribe, excepting authorized government officials and other persons now occupying reservation lands under lawful authority, and to prescribe appropriate rules and regulations governing such removal and exclusion, and governing the conditions under which non-members of the tribe may come upon tribal lands or have dealings with the tribal members; and to levy taxes or license fees on non-members doing business within the reservation, such acts to be consistent with Federal laws governing trade with Indian Tribes.

SEC. 4. Any resolution or ordinance which, by the terms of this Constitution, is subject to review by the Secretary of the Interior shall be presented to the Superintendent of the Fort Berthold Reservation, who shall, within 10 days thereafter, approve or disapprove the same.

If the Superintendent shall approve any ordinance or resolution, it shall thereupon become effective, but the Superintendent shall transmit a copy of the same, bearing his endorsement, to the Secretary of the Interior, who may within 90 days from the date of enactment, rescind the said ordinance or resolution for any cause, by notifying the Tribal Business Council of his veto.

If the Superintendent shall refuse to approve any resolution or ordinance submitted to him within 10 days after its enactment, he shall advise the Tribal Business Council of his reasons therefore. If these reasons appear to the Council insufficient, it may by a majority vote, refer the resolution or ordinance to the Secretary of the Interior, who may, within 90 days of its enactment, approve the same in writing, whereupon the said ordinance or resolution shall become effective.

SEC. 5. The Tribal Business Council shall have the following powers, the exercise of which shall be subject to popular referendum as hereinafter provided in this Constitution.

(a) To manage all economic affairs and enterprises of the Three Affiliated Tribes of the Fort Berthold Reservation in accordance with the terms of a charter to be issued to them by the Secretary of the Interior.

(b) To create and maintain a Tribal Business Council Fund by accepting grants or donations from any person, State, or the United States, or by income from tribal enterprises, or by levying assessments of not less than 10 cents and not to exceed $1 per year per capita on the qualified voters of the Three Affiliated Tribes, and to require the performance of labor in lieu thereof, provided the payment of such per capita levy shall vote in any election held more than 6 months after the date of said levy.

(c) To administer any funds or property within the exclusive control of the tribe; to make expenditures from available tribal funds for public purposes of the tribe, including salaries or other remuneration of tribal officials or employees. Such salaries or remuneration shall be paid only for services actually rendered. All expenditures from the Tribal Business Council Fund shall be by resolution duly passed by the Council to such effect, and the amounts so paid shall be matters of public record at all times.

(d) To negotiate with the Federal, State and local governments on behalf of the tribe, and to advise and consult with the representatives of the Interior Department on all activities of that department that may affect the Fort Berthold Reservation.

(f) To advise the Secretary of the Interior with regard to all appropriation estimates or Federal projects for the benefit of the Three Affiliated Tribes prior to the submission of such estimates or projects to the Bureau of the Budget and to Congress.

(g) To purchase land of members of the organization under condemnation proceedings in courts of competent jurisdiction.

(h) To regulate the inheritance of real and personal property, other than allotted lands, within the territory of their jurisdiction.

(i) To make assignments and leases of tribal lands, and otherwise to manage tribal lands, interests in tribal lands, and property upon such lands, in conformity with Article IX of this Constitution.

(j) To protect and preserve the property, wildlife, and natural resources of the tribes; to regulate hunting and fishing on tribal lands; and to cultivate and preserve native arts, crafts, culture, ceremonials, and traditions.

(k) To make recommendations to the Superintendent of the Fort Berthold Agency, the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, or the Secretary of the Interior, concerning the appointment and removal of employees assigned to duty on the Fort Berthold Reservation.

(l) To adopt resolutions regulating the procedure of the Tribal Business Council and other tribal agencies and tribal officials of the reservation.

SEC. 6. Likewise subject to popular referendum, the Tribal Business Council may exercise such further powers as may in the future be delegated to the Three Affiliated Tribes of the Fort Berthold Reservation by the Secretary of the Interior or by any other duly authorized official or agency of government.

SEC. 7. Any rights and powers heretofore vested in the three tribes of the Fort Berthold Reservation, but not expressly referred to in this

Constitution, shall not be abridged by this Article, but may be exercised by the people of the Fort Berthold Reservation through the adoption of appropriate bylaws and constitutional amendments.

ARTICLE VIII--REFERENDUM

Upon a petition signed by at least 10 percent of the qualified voters of each community, demanding a referendum on any proposed or enacted ordinance or resolution of the Tribal Business Council, the council shall call an election and the vote of a majority of the qualified voters voting in such referendum shall be binding upon the Tribal Business Council, provided that at least 30 percent of the eligible voters shall vote in such referendum.

ARTICLE IX--LAND

Section 1. The Tribal Business Council shall have authority to manage and lease or otherwise deal with tribal lands and resources in accordance with law and to prevent the sale, disposition, lease or incumbrance of tribal lands, interest in lands, or other tribal assets.

SEC. 2. Tribal lands. The unallotted lands of the Fort Berthold Indian Reservation and all lands which may hereafter be acquired by the the Three Affiliated Tribes or by the United States in trust for the Three Affiliated Tribes, shall be held as tribal lands and no part of such land shall be mortgaged, sold, or ceded, except as permitted by law and then only with the consent and approval of the Secretary of the Interior. Tribal land shall not be allotted to individual Indians but may be assigned to members of the Three Affiliated Tribes, or leased, or otherwise used by the tribe as hereinafter provided.

SEC. 3. Leasing of Tribal land - (a) Tribal land may be leased by the Tribal Business Council, with the approval of the Secretary of the Interior, for such periods as permitted by law. (b) Grazing permits covering tribal lands may be issued by the Tribal Business Council, with the approval of the Secretary of the Interior, for such periods of time as permitted by law.

SEC. 4. Assignments of Tribal Land - (a) The Tribal Business Council may by ordinance, approved by the Secretary of the Interior, provide for granting and tenure of assignments of tribal land to members of the tribe. (b) Any member of the tribe who owns an allotment or any share of heirship land or patent-in-fee land may voluntarily transfer his interest in such land to the tribe in exchange for an assignment to the same land or for other land or a proportionate share in other tribal assets.

SEC. 5. Use of unassigned Tribal Land - Tribal land which is not leased or assigned, including tribal timber lands, shall be managed by the Tribal Business Council subject to the approval of the Secretary of the Interior, for the benefit of the members of the tribe.

SEC. 6. Acquisition of Land by Tribe - The Tribal Business Council of the Three Affiliated Tribes is hereby suthorized and empowered to acquire by purchase, exchange of tribal land, relinquishment, or otherwise any lands or interests in land for and on behalf of the Three

Affiliated Tribes under such terms as may be agreed upon provided the acquisition is approved by the Secretary of the Interior.

ARTICLE X--AMENDMENTS

This Constitution and Bylaws may be amended by a majority vote of the qualified voters of the tribe voting at an election called for that purpose by the Secretary of the Interior, provided that at least (30) percent of those entitled to vote shall vote in such election; but no amendment shall become effective until it shall have been approved by the Secretary of Interior. It shall be the duty of the Secretary of the Interior to call an election on any proposed amendment when requested by a two-thirds (2/3) vote of the Tribal Council, or upon presentation of a petition signed by one-third (1/3) of the qualified voters.

BYLAWS OF THE THREE AFFILIATED TRIBES OF THE FORT BERTHOLD RESERVATION

ARTICLE I--DUTIES OF OFFICERS

SECTION 1. The Chairman of the Tribal Business Council shall preside at all meetings of the council and direct the work of its officers. He shall appoint, subject to the approval of the council, such standing committees and special committees and other officers as the business of the tribe may require.

In the absence of the chairman from any regular council meeting or any special meeting regularly called, the vice chairman shall preside in his place, and he shall have all the privileges, duties, and responsibility of the chairman in his absence.

SEC. 2. The Secretary of the Tribal Business Council shall conduct all correspondence of the council, shall keep all records, minutes of meetings, and an accurate roll of members by communities. He shall recieve all petitions, applications and other papers and prepare them for the action of the council. He shall promptly submit a copy of the minutes of each council meeting to the Superintendent of the agency. He shall perform such other clerical duties relating to the business of the council as it may direct.

SEC. 3. The Treasurer of the Tribal Business Council shall accept, receipt for, keep, and safeguard all funds in the custody of the council, whether they be tribal funds or special funds for which the council is acting as trustee or custodian. He shall deposit all such funds in a bank or elsewhere as directed by the council and shall make and keep a faithful record of such funds, and shall report on all receipts and expenditures and the amount and nature of all funds in his possession or custody to the council at regular meetings and at such other times as requested by the council, his reports to be in writing and matters of record.

He shall not expend or otherwise disburse any funds in his possession or in the possession or custody of the Tribal Business Council except when he is authorized to do so by resolution duly passed by the council. All checks shall be signed by the Treasurer and shall be countersigned by the Chairman of the Tribal Business Council, and all checks issued prior to July 1, 1940, shall be approved by the Superintendent of the reservation.

The books and records of the Treasurer shall be audited at least once each year by a competent auditor employed by the council, and at such other times as the council or the Commissioner of Indian Affairs may direct. The Treasurer shall be required to be under a surety bond satisfactory to the council and to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs.

Sec. 4. The Tribal Business Council, or an election board appointed by it, shall certify to the election of the duly elected council members within 3 days after the election, and the newly elected councilmen who have been certified shall be installed at the first meeting of the Tribal Business Council thereafter, upon subscribing to the oath of office as follows: "I do solemnly swear that I will support and defend the Constitution of the United States and the Constitution and Bylaws of the Three Affiliated Tribes of the Fort Berthold Reservation, and will faithfully and impartially discharge the duties of councilman to the best of my ability."

SEC. 5. The duties of all appointed committees and officers shall be clearly defined by resolution of the council at the time of their appointmsnt, and such committees and officers shall report from time to time as required by the council, and their activities and decisions shall be subject to review by the council at any time.

ARTICLE II--SALARIES

The Tribal Business Council may prescribe such salaries for council members and tribal officers appointed by the council as it deems advisable, from such funds as may be available, provided that no compensation shall be paid to any tribal officer out of any tribal funds except by resolution duly passed and approved by the council, and subject to popular referendum the same as other powers of the council, and further provided that no compensation shall be paid to any tribal officer out of tribal funds under the control of the Federal Government except upon a resolution stating the amount of the compensation and the nature of the services rendered, and said resolution shall be of no effect until approved by the Secretary of the Interior.

ARTICLE III--MEETING OF COUNCIL

SECTION 1. The regular meetings of the Tribal Business Council shall be held at Elbowoods, N. Dak., on the second Thursday of each month.

SEC. 2. Special meetings may be called by the Chairman or by any three councilmen who shall notify all members of the council at least twenty-four (24) hours before the time of convening such meeting unless a majority of the council approve a shorter call in an emergency.

SEC. 3. Seven members shall constitute a legal quorum of the Tribal Business Council.

SEC. 4. In the absence of the Chairman and Vice Chairman if a quorum is otherwise present, the Secretary shall act as chairman until a temporary chairman is selected.

SEC. 5. At the first meeting of a newly elected Tribal Business Council, it shall establish by resolution a regular order of business such as: Roll call, reading of minutes of previous meeting, report of Treasurer, report of committees, unfinished business, new business, etc.

ARTICLE IV--ADOPTION OF CONSTITUTION AND BYLAWS

This Constitution and attached Bylaws, when adopted by a majority of the qualified of the Arickara, Gros Ventres, and Mandan Tribes of the Fort Berthold Reservation, voting at a special election called by the Secretary of the Interior, in which at least 30 percent of those qualified shall vote, shall be submitted to the Secretary of the Interior for his approval, and shall be in effect from the date of his approval.

CERTIFICATION OF ADOPTION

Pursuant to an order, approved March 11, 1936, by the Secretary of the Interior, the attached Constitution and Bylaws was submitted for ratification to the members of the Arickara, Gros Ventres, and Mandan Tribes of the Fort Berthold Reservation and was on May 15, 1936, duly ratified by a vote of 366 for, and 220 against, in an election in which over 30 percent of those entitled to vote cast their ballots, in accordance with section 16 of the Indian Reorganization Act of June 18, 1934 (48 Stat. 984), as amended by the Act of June 15, 1935 (49 Stat. 378).

GEORGE W. GRINNELL,
Chairman of Election Board,
ARTHUR MANDAN,
Chairman of Business Council,
PETER H. BEAUCHAMP,
Secretary.

W. R. Beyer, Superintendent.

I, Harold L. Ickes, the Secretary of the Interior of the United States of America, by virtue of the authority granted me by the Act of June 18, 1934 (48 Stat. 984), as amended, do hereby approve the attached Constitution and Bylaws of the Three Affiliated Tribes of the Fort Berthold Reservation.

All rules and regulations heretofore promulgated by the Interior Department or by the Office of Indian Affairs, so far as they may be incompatible with any of the provisions of the said Constitution and Bylaws are hereby declared inapplicable to the members of the Three Affiliated Tribes.

All officers and employees of the Interior Department are ordered to abide by the provisions of the said Constitutuion and Bylaws.

Approval recommended June 3, 1936.

John Collier,
Commissioner of Indian Affairs.

HAROLD L. ICKES,
Secretary of the Interior.
(Seal)

Washington, D. C., June 29, 1936.

APPENDIX C

CORPORATE CHARTER OF THE THREE AFFILIATED TRIBES OF THE FORT BERTHOLD RESERVATION

A FEDERAL CORPORATION CHARTERED UNDER THE ACT OF JUNE 18, 1934

Whereas, the Three Affiliated Tribes of the Fort Berthold Reservation in North Dakota are a recognized Indian tribe organized under a Constitution and By-laws ratified by the Tribe on May 15, 1936, and approved by the Secretary of the Interior on June 29, 1936, pursuant to section 16 of the Act of June 18, 1934, (48 Stat. 984), as amended by the Act of June 15, 1935 (49 Stat. 378); and

Whereas, more than one-third of the adult members of the Tribe have petitioned that a charter of incorporation be granted to such Tribe, subject to ratification by a vote of the adult Indians living on the reservation;

Now, therefore, I, Harold L. Ickes, Secretary of the Interior, by virtue of the authority conferred upon me by the said Act of June 18, 1934, (48 Stat. 984), do hereby issue and submit this Charter of incorporation to the Three Affiliated Tribes of the Fort Berthold Reservation to be effective from and after such time as it may be ratified by a majority vote in an election at which at least 30 percent of the adult Indians living on the Reservation shall vote.

Corporate Existence and Purposes.

1. In order to further the economic development of the Three Affiliated Tribes of the Fort Berthold Reservation in North Dakota by conferring upon the said Tribe certain corporate rights, powers, privileges and immunities; to secure for the members of the Tribe an assured economic independence; and to provide for the proper exercise by the Tribe of various functions heretofore performed by the Department of the Interior, the aforesaid Tribe is hereby chartered as a body politic and corporate of the United States of America, under the corporate name of "The Three Affiliated Tribes of the Fort Berthold Reservation".

Perpetual Succession.

2. The Three Affiliated Tribes of the Fort Berthold Reservation shall, as a Federal Corporation, have perpetual succession.

Membership.

3. The Three Affiliated Tribes shall be a membership corporation. Its members shall consist of all persons now or hereafter members of the Tribe, as provided by its duly ratified and approved Constitution and By-laws.

Management. 4. The Tribal Council of the Three Affiliated Tribes established in accordance with the said Constitution and By-laws of the Tribe, shall exercise all the corporate powers hereinafter enumerated.

Corporate Powers. 5. The Tribe, subject to any restrictions contained in the Constitution and laws of the United States, or in the Constitution and By-laws of the said Tribe, shall have the following corporate powers in addition to all powers already conferred or guaranteed by the tribal Constitution and By-laws:

(a) To adopt, use, and alter at its pleasure a corporate seal

(b) To purchase, take by gift, bequest or otherwise, own, hold, manage, operate and dispose of property of every description, real and personal, subject to the following limitations:

(1) No sale or mortgage may be made by the corporation of any land, interest in land, including water rights, oil, gas, and other mineral rights now or hereafter held by the tribal corporation, unless specifically authorized by law and then only with the consent and approval of the Secretary of the Interior.

(2) No authority is hereby granted to sell, mortgage or lease for a period exceeding that authorized by law any land within the reservation and all leases, permits, or other contracts relating to lands within the reservation must be approved by the Secretary of the Interior or his duly authorized representative.

(3) No action shall be taken by or in behalf of the corporation, which conflicts with the regulations authorized by section 6 of the Act of June 18, 1934, or in any way operates to destroy or injure the tribal grazing land, timber or other natural resources.

(c) To issue interests in corporate property in exchange for restricted Indian lands, the forms for such interests to be approved by the Secretary of the Interior.

(d) To borrow money from any source for any purpose not inconsistent with law, regulations of the Secretary of the Interior, the tribal constitution or this charter: Provided, that any agreement covering a loan to the tribes which involves the pledge or assignment of chattels, future tribal income or other tribal assets as security therefor shall be subject to the approval of the Secretary of the Interior; and provided further that any contract involving payment of money by the corporation in excess of $50,000 in any one fiscal year shall be subject to the approval of the Secretary of the Interior.

(e) To engage in any business that will further the economic well-being of the members of the Tribe or to undertake any activity of any nature whatever, not inconsistent with law or with any provision of this Charter.

(f) To make and perform contracts and agreements of every description, not inconsistent with law or with any provisions of this Charter, with any person, association, or corporation, with any municipality or any county, or with the United States or the State of North Dakota including agreements with the State of North Dakota for the rendition of public services: Provided, That any contract involving payment of money by the corporation in excess of $50,000 in any 1 fiscal year shall be subject to the approval of the Secretary of the Interior or his duly authorized representative.

(g) To pledge or assign chattels or tribal income due or to become due to the Tribe: Provided, That such assignments of tribal income, other than assignments to the United States, shall not extend more than 10 years from the date of execution and shall not exceed $50,000 in any one year: And provided further, That any such pledge or assignment shall be subject to the approval of the Secretary of the Interior or his duly authorized representative.

(h) To deposit, to the credit of the Three Affiliated Tribes of the Fort Berthold Reservation, North Dakota, corporate funds, without limitation on the amount in any account, in any National or State Bank whose deposits are insured by any agency of the Federal government: Provided, that funds advanced from the Indian Credit Fund or from funds of the corporation held in trust in the United States Treasury shall be deposited with a bonded disbursing officer of the United States whenever the conditions prescribed by the Secretary of the Interior or his authorized representative, in connection with such advance, require that the advance be so deposited.

(i) To sue and to be sued in courts of competent jurisdiction within the United States; but the grant or exercise of such power to sue and to be sued shall not be deemed a consent by the said Tribe or by the United States to the levy of any judgment, lien or attachment upon the of the Tribe other than income or chattels specially pledged or signed.

(j) To exercise such further incidental powers, not inconsistent with law, as may be necessary to the conduct of corporate business.

Termination of Supervisory Powers.

6. Upon the request of the Tribal Business Council for the termination of any supervisory power reserved to the Secretary of the Interior under sections 5 (b) (3), 5 (c), 5 (d), 5 (f), 5 (g), 5 (h), and section 8 of this Charter, the Secretary of the Interior, if he shall approve such request, shall thereupon submit the question of such termination for ratification by the Tribe. The termination shall be effective upon ratification by a majority vote at an election in which at least 30 percent of the adult members of the Tribe residing on the reservation shall vote. If at any time after 10 years from the effective date of this Charter such request shall be made, and the Secretary shall disapprove it or fail to approve or disapprove it within 90 days after its receipt, the question of the termination of any such power may then be submitted by the Secretary of the Interior or by the Tribal Business Council to popular referendum of the adult members of the Tribe actually living within the Reservation and if the termination is approved by two-thirds of the eligible voters, it shall be effective.

Corporate Property.

7. No property rights of the Three Affiliated Tribes, as heretofore constituted, shall be in any way impaired by anything contained in this Charter, and the tribal ownership of unallotted lands, whether or not assigned to the use of any particular individuals, is hereby expressly recognized. The individually owned property of members of the Tribe shall not be subject to any corporate debts or liabilities, without such owners' consent. Any existing lawful debts of the Tribe shall continue in force, except as such debts may be satisfied or cancelled pursuant to law.

Corporate Dividends. 8. The Tribe may issue to each of its members a non-transferable certificate of membership evidencing the equal share of each member in the assets of the Tribe and may distribute per capita, among the recognized members of Tribe, all profits of corporate enterprise over and above sums necessary to defray corporate obligations and over and above all sums which may be devoted to the establishment of a reserve fund, the construction of public works, the costs of public enterprises, the expenses of tribal government, the needs of charity, or other corporate purpose. No such distribution of profits in any 1 year amounting to more than $10 in any 1 year per capita payment shall be made without the approval of the Secretary of the Interior. No distribution of the financial assets of the Tribe shall be made except as provided herein or as authorized by Congress.

Corporate Accounts. 9. The officers of the Tribe shall maintain accurate and and complete public accounts of the financial affairs of the Tribe, which shall clearly show all credits, debts, pledges, and assignments, and shall furnish an annual balance sheet and report of the financial affairs of the Tribe to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs.

Amendments. 10. This charter shall not be revoked or surrendered except by act of Congress, but amendments may be proposed by resolutions of the Council which, if approved by the Secretary of the Interior, shall be effective when ratified by a majority vote of the adult members living on the Reservation at a popular referendum in which at least 30 percent of the eligible voters vote.

Ratification. 11. This charter shall be effective from and after the date of its ratification by a majority vote of the adult members of the Three Affiliated Tribes living on the Fort Berthold Reservation, provided at least 30 percent of the eligible voters shall vote, such ratification to be formally certified by the Superintendent of the Fort Berthold Agency and the Chairman of the Tribal Business Council.

Submitted by the Secretary of the Interior for ratification by the Three Affiliated Tribes of the Fort Berthold Reservation in a popular referendum to be held on April 24, 1937.

HAROLD L. ICKES,
Secretary of the Interior.
(SEAL)

WASHINGTON, D. C., April 1, 1937.

CERTIFICATION

Pursuant to section 17 of the Act of June 18, 1934 (48 Stat. 984), this charter, issued on April 1, 1937, by the Secretary of the Interior to the Three Affiliated Tribes of the Fort Berthold Reservation, North Dakota, was duly submitted for ratification to the adult Indians living on the reservation and was on April 24, 1937, duly ratified by a vote of 407 for, and 118 against, in an election in which over thirty percent of those entitled to vote cast their ballots.

ARTHUR MANDAN,
Chairman of the Tribal Business Council.

W. R. BEYER,
Superintendent in charge of the reservation.

Dominick M. [illegible]
New Town, ND